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DOCTOR OF MINISTRY

DISSERTATION / PROJECT

LESTER L. WESTLING, JR.

SAN FRANCISCO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

1974

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ABSTRACT OF THE "MANUAL FOR MINISTRY TO PRISONER OF WAR RETURNEES AND THEIR FAMILIES IN THE LONG-TERM READJUSTMENT PERIOD"

Doctor of Ministry Dissertation/Project
by the Rev. Lester L. Westling, Jr.,
Chaplain, U.S. Navy

The Project, "Ministry to Prisoner of War Returnees and their Families in the Long-Term Readjustment Period: A Manual for Navy Chaplains," was presented to the Navy Chaplain Corps as an act of ministry. The Dissertation is divided into two parts. Part I explains the Project, the personal motivation for it in a case study, and the evolution of the Project itself. Part II, parallels the five sections of the Project (Manual), explores and documents the issues involved. Extensive notation provides opportunity for the reader to examine the research involved at any point of special interest.

Appendix A provides details of the interviews planned and conducted upon which, together with observations from the media, the Project was based and upon which academic resources were brought to bear. Appendix B contains the evaluative statements of the Army-Navy Center for Prisoner of War Studies, and that of a Navy Survival Expert who served as Consultant on Military Affairs during the writing. "Sources Consulted" contains 21 pages of resources upon which the project was based.

Of primary interest to the student-reader would be the Project (Manual) itself and Part II of the Dissertation upon which it was based.

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Chapter 4 of the Dissertation examines Section I of the Manual. The relationships of the Chaplain to the POW Returnee and to family members are explored, as are problems of establishing a pastoral relationship of trust, denial and defenses which complicate reunion and the pastoral relationship, areas the Chaplain should assess within himself in such encounters, new developments in pastoral psychology which need interpretation and his membership in a referral network.

Chapter 5 (Manual, Section II) deals with the communal dimension of POW life and its effect upon his life in return and readjustment, as well as the assessment of related strengths and weaknesses of which the Chaplain should be knowledgeable. A religious dimension is identified in survival based human relationships, and applications to homecoming and to a ministry to these persons are suggested.

Chapter 6 (Manual, Section III) deals with intra-family adjustments and relationships. Re-entry acceptances and rejections are discussed and applications can be made to reunion processes involved in service connected deployments and high-risk duty assignments. One theory advanced is that of the negative effect of anticipatory "grief work" upon the reunion process, and appropriate considerations for ministry are suggested where such is suspected to exist. Conjoint family therapy or counseling is explained as being applicable, and is offered as an efficient and significant mode of pastoral ministry to re-entry processes.

Personal growth in the wife through coping in the absence of her husband, shifts in the structure of the American family and role liberation, recontracting of the relationship, sexual adjustments, and reunion with sons and with daughters are considered separately; and in each of these areas opportunities for ministry are explored.

The POW Returnee is considered as an individual in Chapter 7 (Manual, Section IV). An understanding of his unique experience is pursued to the extent that its influence upon him after return can be assessed and a ministry can be directed to him. Identity is defined in terms of one's ego, one's physical organism and one's group. "Brain-washing" had effects opposite to what was expected, and this as well as ethical and theological implications are explored. "Survivor Syndrome" and survivor guilt are discussed. A ministry to those suffering war neurosis is defined under "Debriefing as a Process." The importance of fantasy, impulse control, new goals, humor, and the definition of the Returnee's place in his group during captivity and upon return and implications for ministry are explored.

Chapter 8 (Manual, Section V) deals first with the private and corporate religious experiences of captivity, and relates these to life upon return. The place of the POW Returnee and family amidst the ideological controversy is discussed. Secondly, a theology of this experience described as the "Will to Freedom" is proposed, and implications concerning the meaning of human life, corporate experience, and leadership are suggested and are applied in retrospect to topics previously considered in the text.

MANUAL FOR MINISTRY TO PRISONER OF WAR RETURNEES AND THEIR FAMILIES IN THE LONG-TERM READJUSTMENT PERIOD

A Dissertation Presented to
the Faculty of
San Francisco Theological Seminary

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Ministry

---

by
Lester Leon Westling, Jr.
March, 1974

Thesis
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Dedicated to honor my cousins

DWAYNE WESTLING ALDER
Private First Class, U.S. Army, POW
1922 --- 1942

RICHARD WESTLING WOOD
Captain, U.S. Army, POW Returnee
1919 --- 1950

"Rest in Freedom"

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many who have influenced the development of this Dissertation/Project are mentioned in regard to their contribution to it in Chapter 3. Miss Patricia M. Jones, M.S.W., my Advisor, provided substantial guidance and encouragement and hours of skilled and patient effort in the critical examination of both text and theory. My wife Marjorie typed the entire Dissertation/Project through its many revisions. My family carried many additional responsibilities and endured many lonely moments during the long months of involvement that brought this work to completion. Captain Marlin D. Seiders, Chaplain Corps, U.S. Navy, provided contacts and support in the initial stages, without which the vision may never have been pursued.

To these persons and for them I am profoundly grateful.

L.L.W.,Jr.

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PART I.

EVOLUTION OF THE MANUAL

CHAPTER 1

EXPLANATION OF THE DISSERTATION/PROJECT

"Ministry to Prisoner of War Returnees and their Families in the Long-Term Readjustment Period: A Manual for Navy Chaplains" (hereinafter referred to as the Manual) is the Project central to this Dissertation, and is presented as a companion volume to it. Details of the motivation,[1] inception of and planning for this Manual,[2] its documentation,[3] and its evaluation for use[4] compose the contents of this Dissertation.

The thrust of the Manual into the future represents no revision of the original purpose for the study.[5] Its message is that "Operation Homecoming" could be but the beginning of another long journey, and that Chaplains can fill a unique and beneficial position in this journey. The Manual was composed without footnotes with the intent of enhancing its readability as a practical aid to Chaplains.

The Manual is, however, the result of academic research, in-depth interviews, and extensive reference to the news media. The approach could not be statistical because such material was not available to the writer.[6] The method used, therefore, was unique. The identification of trends and the selection of the areas of pastoral concern for the study and the theology of the experience could only come from an available sampling of interviewees[7] and from those individuals and institutional authorities who addressed the public through various means.

To these findings, the theoretical and academic resources could then be applied in the shaping of the Manual. But the initial perceptions upon which the study was based were derived from the practical and clinical exercise of pastoral psychology in the experience of ministry. Upon such perceptions the validity of the undertaking necessarily rests; because without recourse to statistics, the scientific accuracy of the Manual became heavily dependent upon the interviewing and perceptive skills. The study presupposes such skills to have scientific potential and to be capable of accuracy.

Responses to the interviewer were carefully used in keeping with the wishes of the contributors. It can be assumed that statements made to the press or in public were available for use without restriction. The integrity of contributors as individuals is therefore preserved, rather than finding their primary importance to the study as ingredients of group-related statistics. The approach in composition can then be said to be pastoral and clinical, and the Manual is presented for practical use by pastors and clinicians.

DOCUMENTATION

1. Infra, Chapter 2.

2. Infra, Chapter 3.

3. Infra, Part II.

4. Infra, Appendix B.

5. See infra, pp. 7, 12.

6. This policy was a necessary protection for the privacy of the Returnees and their families; cf. infra, pp. 16ff.

7. See Appendix A; cf. infra, p. 17.

CHAPTER 2

WHY THIS THESIS? A CASE STUDY

Richard Westling Wood, Captain, Infantry, U.S. Army Reserve, 0-395799--this man was the writer's cousin and his life-long inspiration. His story confronts one with the dilemma of long unanswered questions--questions posed by his experiences as well as by his contemplations. These questions demand attention at this time when the repatriation of Prisoners of War has reappeared in the history of our Nation.

Captain Wood was a graduate of the Army R.O.T.C. Unit at the University of Nebraska. He loved the Army, his family, and his Church. In November of 1944 in Alsace-Lorraine, France, his company was under counter-attack by a battalion of German Panzers reinforced by tanks. Those that were not immediately captured, killed, or wounded held out until noon of the second day of the engagement "when all ammo gave out and we were captured."[1] His POW diary survives him, and it tells the story of five months of imprisonment.

This would not have been considered a long captivity had it occurred in North Viet Nam; and even though there were similarities in these POW experiences, in many ways they were very different. His captivity included time in camps in both Germany and Poland, being bombed by the RAF while entrained in cattle cars in a railroad yard.[2] It included a death march requiring 300 miles of walking on a "badly stiff left leg" while sick with dysentery "caused from drinking milk

that the (Polish) farmers were feeding to pigs."[3] This march was made in subzero winter weather across northern Europe in the flight from the advancing Russian Army. His small concealed notebook recorded the prisoners' diet of garbage, and it tells of hardships, frostbite and starvation. It contains maps of enemy installations, memorized facts from his studies in pharmacy, names of other prisoners and home addresses, his daydreams of home and food (including menus and recipes), and the bombing of Berlin was described as he witnessed it from prison camp.

Following his liberation, Captain Wood spent one month at a repatriation camp near Le Havre, France for medical examination and treatment. On admission he weighed 98 pounds, having lost 70.[4] He had no further hospitalization.[5] He was returned to the United States in May 1945, requested and was granted indefinite extension on active duty, was assigned to Camp Robinson, Arkansas in October, and received orders the following May to Shanghai, China. After only two months in China, he deemed it advisable to request inactive duty status.[6]

Richard Wood returned to the University of Nebraska for another year of study, practiced civilian pharmacy for a year, then volunteered once again for active duty where he was happiest, according to his family.[7] He served a one-year tour of duty as Pharmacy Officer at the Army and Navy General Hospital, Hot Springs, Arkansas. After that tour he returned to inactive status and civilian employment. Six months later his small fishing boat washed back to the Gulf shore without him.

Captain Wood's heroic yet unheralded story continued in the life of his wife and two daughters, and in that of his parents who

mourned his loss. No bands played for Captain Wood, there were no ticker tape parades, and evidently no Chaplain called. Yet no member of his family complained; and there have been no conscious efforts to link together the events of his last six years of life. However, the writer's compelling force for engagement in this Thesis had its beginning with his admiration for this family and for their late POW Returnee. It is the writer's contention that had there been an "Operation Homecoming," a Center for Prisoner of War Studies as we have today, and had the sustained interest of an alert Chaplain or civilian pastor followed this family over a long period of time, Captain Wood's chances for survival might then have been enhanced--even in some small way.

Captain Wood reported that during his long march as a prisoner when he was sick and cold and struggling to walk as an alternate to death, a German guard taunted him by dragging a tree limb in front of him, repeatedly causing him to stumble.[8] In the midst of this encounter, he said to himself: "Richard Wood! Where is your faith?"[9] Certainly it <u>was</u> faith that kept him alive during captivity. Once free, did he ever have a chance to enrich the church with the lessons of faith that he had learned, or did he have offered to him upon return the genuine interest or trustworthy guidance of a Chaplain or pastor? It is unlikely that he did, for those who were closest to Captain Wood do not know of such,[10] and he is not here to tell us.

His prison diary leaves us with this thought:

> "What is Freedom? Must we fight for it then rest, or work continually for peace and security. . . . ? The age old problem (is) how it is to be maintained peacefully. Why do we consider people who differ in opinion from us radical? Is it not this free thought that brings progress? How is unity of thought to be maintained and held without

> Gestapo methods? Will peace and "Freedom" be secure if the majority of people go back to sleep when this war is over?"[11]

And he asked two further questions as he wrote:

> "I wonder how many (POWs) will do any of the things they plan for themselves when liberation finally comes."[12]

Later he referred to himself and possibly to those like him:

> "This man fought for Peace--he has it now--is it enough?"[13]

The Manual proposes to deal with these questions and to advance the hope that answers to them may be found in the lives of today's POW Returnees and their families, and in a long-term ministry to them.

DOCUMENTATION

1. Richard W. Wood, Prisoner of war diary. (Handwritten.)
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., addendum recorded by Captain Wood's mother dictated by him in July 1945.
4. Ibid., addendum.
5. Letter from Captain Wood's wife dated September 21, 1973.
6. Ibid., substantiated by conversations with Captain Wood's parents in past years.
7. Ibid.
8. Wood, diary addendum; date given for this incident: "last week of March 1945."
9. This was related by his mother as remembered from his conversations in July 1945 from which the diary addendum was composed.
10. Letter from Captain Wood's wife dated September 21, 1973.
11. Wood, diary.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

FACTORS IN THE PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DISSERTATION/PROJECT

My interest in the problems of Prisoners of War focused on Asia as a result of my association with Dr. Allyn Rickett and his wife Adele during the summer of 1963. He was on loan from the University of Pennsylvania to teach the intensive Second Year Chinese course at Stanford University. As the course progressed, we spoke long hours of their imprisonment of four years in China,[1] and of the self-evaluation and thought reform program by which Chinese Communists offered their compatriots and their prisoners the opportunity to criticize their old philosophies of life and to adopt a new one. I was fascinated by this couple, by their two adopted Chinese orphans, by their new and marked concern upon return from imprisonment for the church and by their earnest involvement in its ministry to the youth of the inner-city of Philadelphia.

The following year in the Philippines I studied Communist sources in Chinese and English translation at the Jesuit administered Ateneo de Manila Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. Following six and a half years of missionary work in the Philippines--all but one year being with the Chinese community in the Binondo and Tondo districts of Manila--I felt the need to help in Viet Nam. To this end, I volunteered for active duty in the Chaplain Corps of the

U.S. Navy, and received the orders I requested. I served in the northern provinces of South Viet Nam with the Third Marine Division for one year; and after fourteen months of duty back in the United States at the National Naval Medical Center, Bethesda, Maryland (largely with Viet Nam casualties), I volunteered to return. I was granted three months of intensive study in Vietnamese language at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California. In the hinterlands and villages of the Mekong Delta and along the Cambodian border I served one year in a tri-lingual ministry to Americans, Vietnamese, and to Vietnamese of Chinese ancestry in that area of the country.

Upon return to the United States and service at the Alameda Naval Air Station, I had two years of close association with the men of aircraft squadrons and their families. I flew with them and ministered to them, and learned their life. In that time, I also carried on a ministry to East Bay area Navy and Marine Corps families of Prisoners of War and of men who were Missing in Action.

As the problems of Prisoners of War confronted us all, I felt the pressing desire to offer my past experience and knowledge of Asia and her people, of aviation and ground combat forces, and my concern for Prisoners of War of long duration as these might apply in the interest of a ministry of helpfulness in this area; but the means by which this desire might find expression had yet to be defined.

In consultation on September 13, 1972 with Dr. John A. Plag, Ph.D., Director of the Center for Prisoner of War Studies of the Navy Medical Neuropsychiatric Research Unit in San Diego, he

explained that a medical team from his Center would be visiting every Army and Navy hospital that would be receiving POW Returnees during the projected "Operation Homecoming." The briefing they would be giving to the medical and psychiatric staff members on the special problems that could be anticipated for Returnees would be followed-up by a manual,[2] which was then in preparation, covering in greater detail subjects related to the briefings. From this I devised the plan to prepare a manual for Navy Chaplains. This manual would contain information designed to encourage and in many ways define a ministry to POW Returnees and their families. Its thrust would extend beyond the exciting initial stages of "Operation Homecoming" upon which so much effort and skill was to be concentrated, into the long-term readjustment to routine for these persons; and it would explore the unique role of the Chaplain's position in the helping team.[3] In this long-term perspective, a common interest was found with the purposes of the Center for Prisoner of War Studies; and an unofficial but genuine encouragement by the Center in this plan for the manual was expressed. Mr. Philip J. Metres, M.A., of the Center, was very supportive, and expressed the need for both pastoral and theological perspectives which such a manual could provide.

The next phase was that of gathering both experience and bibliographical materials which would make me more knowledgeable of the problems with which this manual proposed to deal. The Center for POW Studies was extremely helpful to me in my initial search for written resources.

I was met with a most enthusiastic welcome by the Director of the Survival Training Department, Fleet Aviation Specialized

Operational Training Group, Pacific. Commander Russell E. McJunkin, Jr. spared nothing to place the resources of his department at my disposal. A large quantity of especially helpful publications and research materials were assembled for me, and Commander McJunkin saw the value in what I proposed to do. He immediately outlined a program of training by which my personal preparations for the undertaking could be enhanced. This program involved me in a series of three courses which were arranged in February of 1972, but which I was not able to undertake until the leave period at the end of my tour of duty at Alameda in September. In connection with this, Lieutenant (now Lieutenant Commander) Richard W. Ritz, U.S.N., provided me with his concerned personal supervision in this experience; and Lieutenant Commander C. William Buck, Medical Service Corps, U.S.N., before his retirement from the Navy, provided me with copies of much of his research including his dissertation on stress.[4]

It became quickly evident to me that in order to tackle the writing of the proposed manual for Chaplains, I was going to have to acquire a greater depth of skill in clinical psychology. In so doing, I would have to explore the relationship between the ministry and the psychological fields in order to identify the unique role of the ministry in the total approach to the Returnee and his family, the contribution that pastoral psychology can make, and to deal with the professional identity crisis which confronts many pastoral counselors today.[5] This led me into a year of study in the field of pastoral psychology at the San Francisco Theological Seminary with clinical internship as a therapist under supervision at the McAuley Neuropsychiatric Institute of St. Mary's Medical Center in San Francisco,

and into collateral study at the Family Therapy Institute of Marin in San Rafael, California. This culminated in being awarded the Master of Arts degree in Pastoral Psychology by the seminary on June 9, 1973, and also in a greater degree of confidence that I was ready to proceed with the manual.

In the meantime, the prisoner releases of February and March 1973 took place, and the well-planned "Operation Homecoming" proved its worth to the Returnees and their families. The early conclusion of "Operation Homecoming," however, reinforced my convictions that the concern of a manual for Chaplains for the long-term readjustment ministry was justified.[6] I saw the Chaplains as having a potential of particular value because they are as dispersed as the Returnees and their families would be, because of their access to these persons--some Returnees reportedly having rejected what has been labeled as psychological help[7]--and because of what the ministry represents and the motivation which undergirds it. Indeed, the Chaplain sees life as God-given, of utmost value, and intended for responsible freedom.[8]

In my opinion, these elements which define the role of the Chaplain in potential service to the POW Returnees and their families in readjustment and reunion needed to be set forth in the manual. In addition, I wanted to include in this definition of ministry, applications of the rapidly developing field of pastoral psychology.[9] The use of psychology in the ministry is susceptible to misunderstanding, thus it needs practical illustration; and my intention was to present such in this manual.

The concern for individuals as well as for psycho-social systems in which individuals are involved--for example, the inter-

relationships of the family unit[10] and the "POW Brotherhood"[11]--are concerns of the pastoral ministry which psychology has enriched. New dimensions of in-depth counseling and explorations into personal growth are being attempted as a function of ministry--as distinct from advice-giving or manipulation of the environment by the Chaplain to accomodate the individual; yet there must be no pretense of usurping the medical-psychiatric diagnostic function for which the ministry is neither trained nor responsible. This also means that the Chaplain takes his responsible position on the helping team, not referring where it is a matter for pastoral care and counseling, but making skilled use of referral where and when he has knowledgeably deemed it appropriate.[12]

With these aims in mind and with a sense of urgency for the need for the proposed manual, I approached the Advanced Pastoral Studies of the San Francisco Theological Seminary in January 1973 for permission to compose and present the proposed manual as the Project for this Dissertation, and the Design was later accepted with permission to enter the research phase concurrent with the release of the main body of Prisoners of War in the Spring of 1973. The writing of the text of the manual would be undertaken at the completion of the intensive Seminary Summer Term. A statement of the goals of the manual derived from the formal Design submitted to the Faculty would be incorporated into the Preface for the manual, and would bear the date of the initial arrival of the first group of Returnees in "Operation Homecoming."[13]

Respect for the privacy and personal priorities of Returnees and their family members during "Operation Homecoming" precluded my

personal contact with them during February and March; however, news coverage was carefully scrutinized, newspaper and magazine articles available in the San Francisco area were collected as thoroughly as possible and preserved in large scrapbooks for reference in preparation for the production of the manual. Relevant television and radio news broadcasts and interviews were extensively recorded on audio tape for the same purpose.

With the Returnees and families still unavailable, the next step was to confer with Chaplains who had ministered to families during the separation and who had contact with them during the reunion. These interviews were conducted with guarantee of anonymity, some things were specified as confidential, and the method of interviewing was mostly non-directive so as to encourage free association in their response once the aims of the proposed manual were introduced. This method of interviewing was selected in order to gain simultaneously both information and the order of importance to the Chaplain of the areas which he chose to present in the interview. This provided a portion of the guidance used in the selection of areas to be explored in later interviews with the Returnees and family members.[14]

By the beginning of April 1973 it was especially important to meet with some of the Returnees and members of their families between the initial reunion and the beginning of the extended leave periods that were due them before they would scatter to new duty assignments or into civilian life. My plan was to see a few who would be willing to discuss things in depth, rather than to attempt a statistical survey which, in my opinion, was inappropriate to the interviewees. Statistics and information by which a profile of the

Returnee population might be determined were not available to me.[15]

In preparation for what I knew would be a very limited exposure to Returnees and family members, I studied the problem of interviewing under the guidance of Miss Patricia M. Jones, M.S.W., Chief Psychiatric Social Worker, McAuley Neuropsychiatric Institute, St. Mary's Medical Center, San Francisco. I developed an instrument[16] designed to explore areas identified as important by Chaplains and other professionals who had experience with POW/MIA families, as well as to examine hypotheses projected in advance of "Operation Homecoming" based largely upon speculation and research of confinements of past wars[17] and professional opinions.[18] I also intended to identify not only problems but individual strengths which were revealed in the captivity and separation experiences which, if encouraged, could be possible assets in reunion and readjustment. Such interviews were to provide the content for the manual aimed at providing guidance to the ministry--especially that of the Navy Chaplain Corps--in an effective mission to these men and their families.

I was able to talk with quite a number of Returnees and relatives informally; but in the brief time interval of availability, it was possible to employ the full format of the prepared schedule for in-depth interviewing with only a sampling of nine volunteers--five Returnees, three wives and one fiancee. I interpreted the obvious depth of their spontaneous enthusiasm for this project as expressions of their feelings that a need for the proposed manual existed, and that the interest and involvement of Chaplains were hopefully anticipated. Those who were interviewed offered time, energy, thought and emotion--lending evidence of sincerity and credibility to the sampling.

It was apparent to me as the interviewer that there was therapeutic value in the interviewing process, and this was attested to by many of those who were interviewed according to the complete schedule of questions.[19] Within the pre-determined areas of inquiry, there was ample room for free association, and attention was paid to the priorities revealed by those things which surfaced first and those most pressing, and to the feelings related to the responses as well.[20] Tone and use of the voice of the interviewees were carefully recorded on reel-to-reel audio recording tape and were studied in this connection.[21]

The interviewing phase was necessarily completed within the month of April 1973.

The interviewing provided an authentic foundation for the other research, and made it evident that some of the presuppositions made in advance of "Operation Homecoming" as to the expected condition of the men on return were not entirely applicable.[22]

Especially unexpected qualities I observed among those released in February and March 1973 from North Viet Nam prisons were the acceptance of public appearance, general preparedness for release, overt expression of patriotism, initiative, high degree of mental activity, evidence of disciplined physical conditioning, eagerness for decision-making, education and political involvement, and an interest in rather than a complete rejection of cultural changes in the homeland. There appeared to be a high degree of continuity in the pattern of family relationships as they existed before and after captivity--both with families of solidarity and in cases of problematic marriages.[23] The place of religious faith was remarkably

high in light of the lack of an abundance of previous predictions offered in this regard.

The interviews heavily influenced such studies in the preparatory work for the proposed manual as those in the redirection of daydreaming after repatriation,[24] in the use of anticipatory "grief work,"[25] and in the understanding of POW humor.[26] Denial of feelings through intellectualization and social isolation and delay of adjustment processes through activism[27] were identified as areas worthy of the special concern of Chaplains largely through the interviewing observations, as well.

Survivor guilt or self-blame for having survived while others perished did not appear to be prominent in the Returnees interviewed,[28] and thus it was decided to omit this as an area of special concern in the composition of the proposed manual. However, implications of this phenomenon did influence many areas of inquiry, and will be commented upon in Chapter 7 of this dissertation;[29] and a greater significance of this should be explored with that population held captive in places other than North Viet Nam.[30]

From the interview findings it was deduced as well that the POW experience in the Indo-China conflict was both unique in relation to other wars[31] and changing in regard to itself.[32] One former POW, who returned earlier than most of the others and who was interviewed,[33] indicated that many of the things he reported upon return about his imprisonment were not relevant later either because of changes in prisoner handling policies in North Viet Nam, or because changes which were advocated by him and by other early Returnees were incorporated into the training and guidelines [34] of a military responsive to such

reports and recommendations.

Also evident from the interviewing phase was the fact that all of those who composed the sample that was available to me were men or wives of men who were Caucasian, commissioned officers, aviators, detained in North Viet Nam, and in naval service. Without access to complete analyses of the POW Returnee population,[35] it can be assumed that this sampling represented the majority of the Returnees. This still meant that the valued observations of those in the smaller catagories,[36] including prisoners of the Viet Cong and those held in such countries as Laos, Cambodia and China, would have to be taken entirely from the media of press, radio and television. Valuable information from Returnees and families representing the other Armed Forces also had to be incorporated into the research. Such had to come from casual conversations and from the mass media. An extensive interview was made with a Navy enlisted Returnee, but this was in advance of the preparation of the in-depth interviewing plan.

In order to produce the manual while it had a potential for usefulness, limitations had to be accepted and alternative measures adopted. Yet it is clearly recognized that in dealing with a problem such as this, it is important to know the profile of the population considered, and it is also necessary to take into account the concerns, experiences and life-background of representatives of every segment of that population.

From the tape recorded and written transcripts of personal interviews with the Returnees, family members and Chaplains, from the news articles and radio and television programs on tape, and

from the assembled bibliographic materials and research studies, the important areas for development in the manual were chosen.

Miss Patricia M. Jones, M.S.W., of McAuley Neuropsychiatric Institute, St. Mary's Medical Center, San Francisco, served as my Dissertation/Project Advisor. Dr. Michael T. Khlentzos, M.D., Medical Director of the McAuley Institute, volunteered to serve as consultant. Lieutenant Commander Arthur D. Garfein, Medical Corps, U.S. Navy Senior Psychiatrist and Head, Recruit Evaluation Unit, Naval Training Center, San Diego, provided me with a wealth of information on trauma and war neurosis.

Collation of materials, numerous revisions of the text, the constant demand for thorough documentation, and the continual contention of the academic and the clinical as they challenged each other as checks and balances in the search for truth—these marked the process of gradual composition of the "Ministry to Prisoner of War Returnees and their Families in the Long-Term Readjustment Period: A Manual for Navy Chaplains" during the fall months of 1973.

The Manual was submitted to Captain Hamilton I. McCubbin, Ph.D., Medical Service Corps, U.S. Army, Head of the Family Services Branch of the Center for Prisoner of War Studies on November 13, 1973, who received it on behalf of Dr. Plag and his staff for comment.[37] The Manual was simultaneously sent to Rear Admiral Francis L. Garrett, Chief of Navy Chaplains, Washington, D.C., for his consideration and for the information of the Chaplain Corps of the United States Navy.

DOCUMENTATION

1. The details of this imprisonment are recorded by Allyn Rickett and Adele Rickett, Prisoners of Liberation (New York: Cameron Associates, Inc., 1957).

2. Carl C. Peck, ed., Medical Care for Repatriated Prisoners of War: A Manual for Physicians and Dentists (San Diego: Center for Prisoner of War Studies, Navy Medical Neuropsychiatric Research Unit, 1973).

3. Infra, pp. 14f; cf., Manual, pp. ii, iii.

4. Charles William Buck, "Stress and Growth: Some Suggestions about a Positive Relationship" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, United States International University, 1971).

5. E. Mansell Pattison, "Systems Pastoral Care," Journal of Pastoral Care, XXVI (March, 1972), 4.

6. "Bad Health Report on the POWs," San Francisco Chronicle, June 2, 1973, p. 1, 7. "Dr. Richard S. Wilbur, assistant secretary of defense for health, told a Pentagon news briefing: . . . the POW's problems are far from over. . . . A lot of their difficulties (are related to) moving back into families that have gotten along without them."
"2251 Days," K.Q.E.D. (San Francisco) telecast, Sept. 21, 1973: "There Are No Bad Days in the U.S.A.": "The Defense Department estimated today that at least 50 of the returned men already have been involved in divorces."
Charlotte Saikowski, "How Fare the Ex-POWs," Oakland Tribune, Nov. 14, 1973, p. 18-A. "State Department officials say, ' . . . among the tragic after-effects of their long years in captivity are marital difficulties, a high incidence of traffic accidents, depression, lack of self-confidence, and other emotional stresses.'" "The men returned to a society vastly changed in its standards, attitudes, and externals."
Reckless driving behavior, see infra, p.85 and n.160; also "Ex-POW Enters Plea, Hit and Run Trial Due," Evening Tribune (San Diego), Sept. 6, 1973, p. A-14.
Cf. Manual, p. 49 and p. 69.

7. "Ex-POWs Rejecting Psychiatric Help," Oakland Tribune, June 11, 1973, p. 5: "'One of the biggest problems in overcoming POW resistance is dispelling the idea that a person who needs psychiatric care is mentally ill,' (Pentagon medical chief, Dr. Richard S.) Wilbur said. Other sources report that some former POWs, including (Returnee suicide victim, Air Force Capt. Edward A.) Brudno, had expressed concern they might be disqualified from flying if they visited a psychiatrist."

Also see John T. Wheeler, "Nightmares No Longer Are Forever," San Diego Union, Sept. 2, 1973, p. C-1.
"2251 Days," Sept. 19, 1973: "The Beak Comes Home." 2 min. 40 sec. of this 30 min. telecast was given to a comical account by the Returnee of his final visit to the psychiatrist at the Naval Hospital (cf. use of humor by Returnees, Manual, pp. 50ff). This included in humorous context the statement: " . . . for the rest of my life I am going to have a stigma on my medical record that I have been the victim of psychiatric evaluation. And those who see it will automatically look at me . . . saying, 'You are tetched in the head.'"
Cf. infra, p. 81, n. 119.

8. Cf. Manual, pp. 68-71.

9. Cf. Howard J. Clinebell, Jr., Basic Types of Pastoral Counseling (Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1966), p. 16, 49-52; cf. Manual, p. 8.

10. Ibid., pp. 100-130; cf. Manual, pp. 21-24

11. Cf. Manual, pp. 12f, 52.

12. Clinebell, Pastoral Counseling, ch. 10; Manual, p. 10.

13. Manual, p. vi.

14. Infra, p. 17 ; also see Appendix A.

15. Cf. supra, p. 1-3 (n.6); however, the value of a profile study relating those interviewed to their place in a composite population study can be implied from the Manual, pp. 8f. Statistics offered by Capt. Jerry Zacharias, USN, Joint Navy/Marine Corps Briefing Team presentation to POW/MIA dependents (observed at Naval Air Station, Alameda, August 24, 1972) stated that as of that date Navy POWs were 97% officers, 72% married; Marine Corps POWs were 60% officers, 63% aircrewmen, 48% married. He described the group as "highly career motivated."

16. Appendix A.

17. E.g., Paul Chodoff, "Effects of Extreme Coercive and Oppressive Forces: Brainwashing and Concentration Camps," in American Handbook of Psychiatry, ed. by Silvano Arieti (New York and London: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1966), III, pp. 390ff. This contains a good summary of the effects upon persons of the captivities of World War II and Korea, together with references.
V. A. Kral, "Psychiatric Observations under Severe Chronic Stress," American Journal of Psychiatry, CVIII (Sept., 1951). 187: "The mental state of the average, fairly adjusted prisoner after several months of internment can . . . be

characterized by impairment of memory and concentration, constriction of the mental horizon, indifference, and irritability.

18. Two professionally based summaries of expectations used in developing the interviews are worthy of note. Comments by Martin T. Orne, M.D., of the University of Pennsylvania Institute of Experimental Psychology, before the convention of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, Washington, D.C., Sept. 27, 1971 suggested the following expectations: reverse cultural shock, estrangement, improbability of homosexual conversion or impotence, fear of inability to adjust, fear of not being needed in family or career, and the need to confront realities of return and appropriate anger in others without protection.
U.S., Department of the Air Force, "Psychological Aspects of Captivity (POW-MIA #72127)," film, features William H. Miller, psychologist and Head of the Environmental Stress Branch, Center for Prisoner of War Studies. He listed: unlearning prison behavior (e.g. apathy, hyper-alertness, time-killing, deliberateness, daydreaming), total unpreparedness for release (in defense of false hopes), problems with decision-making, strong desire for medical attention, scrupulous concern for personal appearance.

19. See Appendix A. "Interview with Returnee," Area XXI: "In what ways did you find this interview helpful to you personally?" yielded a variety of affirmative responses.

20. Harry Stack Sullivan, The Psychiatric Interview, ed. by Helen Swick Perry and Mary Ladd Gawel (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1954), pp. 82-85; Herbert S. Ripley, "Psychiatric Interview" in Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry, ed. by Alfred M. Freedman and Harold I. Kaplan (Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1967), pp. 493-5.

21. Sullivan, Psychiatric Interview, pp. 5-9; Ripley, "Psychiatric Interview," p. 495.

22. Cf. supra, n.s 17 and 18. Planners of "Operation Homecoming" confronted the unexpected as well. One humorous example is as follows: "Returning POWs Face Alcohol Ban," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 11, 1973, p. 10. Captain Cynthia Chung, USAF, a dietician at Clark Air Base Hospital, Philippines said: "We are prepared to meet as much as possible a returnee's food tastes, and this includes rice and nuoc mam (Vietnamese fish sauce)." Activities of Returnees arriving at Clark Air Force Base the next day were described in "Reds to Release 20 POWs 'In Few Days,'" Oakland Tribune, Feb. 13, 1973, p. 10. This article described the activities of Returnees at Clark Air Force Base the day following release: "At lunch yesterday, they heaped their plates with

servings of tenderloin steak, beef stroganoff, spiced apple sauce, mashed potatoes, buttered noodles, salad, apple strudel and chocolate cake." Andy Jokelson, "Tears of Joy at Reunion," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 15, 1973, p. F-15. Commandor John B. McKamey, USN at Oakland Naval Hospital "on his menu card . . . wrote next to the rice entry, 'Are you kidding?'"

23. Cf. Manual, p. 35.

24. Manual, pp. 46f.

25. Manual, pp. 17-21.

26. Manual, pp. 50ff.

27. Manual, pp. 4-8.

28. Appendix A. "Interview with Returnee," Area XVI, Question 4 received responses that revealed that the very ill were removed from cell groups to isolation. None interviewed (all being from North Viet Nam prisons) indicated that they had observed the death of another POW,with no preoccupations with this apparent or admitted.

29. Paul C. Chodoff, "Late Effects of the Concentration Camp Syndrome," Archives of General Psychiatry, VIII (April, 1969), p. 323. The author associates such a phenomenon with "Concentration Camp" or "Survivor" Syndrome. This will be discussed in connection with the use of personal initiative (Manual, p. 43; see infra, pp. 76-79).

30. "POWs Who Chose to Die," San Francisco Chronicle, April 4, 1973, p. 8; "All of Us Bear the Scars," U.S. News and World Report, April 16, 1973, p. 41. See infra, p. 79.

31. Most obvious elements unique to this conflict have been the length of captivity, the duration for individuals in solitary confinement, emphasis on the position of the prisoner as hostage and tool for psychological warfare with primary emphasis beyond the political conversion of the prisoner himself; cf. Manual, pp. iv-v. Paul Chodoff, "Effects of Extreme Coercive and Oppressive Forces: Brainwashing and Concentration Camps," in American Handbook of Psychiatry, ed. by Silvano Arieti (New York and London: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1966) contains comparisons with Russian and Chinese influences in Communist captivity (p.390) and German camp behavior in World War II (p. 396f).

32. See Manual, pp. 53f.

33. Lieutenant "A," interview, Apr. 25, 1973. Interviewees will be identified by letter only to preserve anonymity.

34. "Code of Conduct for Members of the Armed Forces of the United States" (Executive Order 10631 of August 17, 1955, signed by President Eisenhower), Article V reads: "When questioned, should I become a prisoner of war, I am bound to give only name, rank, service number and date of birth. I will evade answering further questions to the utmost of my ability. I will make no oral or written statements disloyal to my country and its allies or harmful to their cause."
The Navy, unique among the other services at the time, shifted its emphasis in interpretation to the phrase " . . . to the utmost of my ability." The definition of this then would become a matter of scrutiny in each case questioned; however, new procedures would follow the policy that the "witch-hunt" trials following the release of prisoners in Korea (see Eugene Kinkead, In Every War but One, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1959, ch. 5) would be avoided. Yet the need for discipline would not be ignored (see Albert D. Biderman, March to Calumny, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963, pp. 66ff.)
Application of this can be seen in the following: "Charges Dismissed Against 4 Ex-POWs" Navy Times, Oct. 17, 1973, p. 6: "(Secretary of the Navy John W.) Warner . . . said dismissal of charges against Navy Capt. Walter E. Wilber and Marine Lt. Col. Edison W. Miller came after he decided they would not again be imprisoned, no matter what judgments formal courts-martial might have concluded against them. . . . Warner opted for letters of censure for each man 'for their conduct during certain periods of their confinement as POWs.' . . . He said that open trials would have been disruptive to other former POWs and their families (and could accomplish no more than what was decided except for further imprisonment which he would never approve.)"
"10 O'clock News," K.T.V.U. (Oakland, Calif.) telecast, Sept. 28, 1973: "Both officers were forced into retirement for what the Navy terms, 'in the best interests of the service.' They are going to draw full retirement pay and allowances."
"2 Cleared POWs Plan Court Suit," Oakland Tribune, July 4, 1973, p. 4. " . . . the five (Army enlisted Returnees accused) would not be allowed to remain in the service . . . . All would be given honorable discharges with no references on their records to . . . allegations, one Pentagon source said.
Fred S. Hoffman, "Military Denies POW 'Whitewash,'" Oakland Tribune, July 5, 1973, p. E-3. "Although not mandatory, the Article 32 (Uniform Code of Military Justice) procedure usually is routine in serious cases. Instead, Secretary of the Army Howard H, Callaway and Secretary of the Navy John W. Warner chose to keep the POW cases under their immediate charges and ordered their top lawyers to review the allegations . . . ."

35. See supra, pp.16f and n. 15.

36. E.g. "POWs--The Black Homecoming," A.B.C. telecast, July 27, 1973. " . . . 566 came home--16 are black."

37. See Appendix B.

PART II.

DISCUSSION AND DOCUMENTATION OF THE MANUAL

EXPLANATION OF PART II

Part II is a commentary on the text of "Ministry to Prisoner of War Returnees and their Families in the Long-Term Readjustment Period: A Manual for Navy Chaplains." This commentary explores the issues that were involved in the writing of the Manual, with the more complex matters receiving more expanded treatment.

The commentary roughly parallels the text of the Manual, which was designed as a separate volume and without footnotes. Notations follow each chapter of the commentary or Discussion of the Manual. These notations document both the Discussion of the Manual and the Manual itself. For this reason the Documentation provides a sizable portion of Part II.

CHAPTER 4

"I. THE CHAPLAIN, THE RETURNEE, AND THE FAMILY-- ACTIONS AND REACTIONS"

The first section of the Manual, "The Chaplain, the Returnee, and the Family--Actions and Reactions," was designed to deal with the concurrent inter-personal processes as they might take place simultaneously when the pastoral ministry finds expression with the family adjusting to reunion. The feeling that the presence of the Chaplain would have an influence in the re-adjustment has been attested by Chaplains, and is genuine.[1] This section of the Manual is offered as an answer to that feeling and in the hope of overcoming any reticence to become involved because of it.[2] It was intended to assert how the influence of the Chaplain can be positive and helpful, and that the risk of offering oneself as a pastor to this family is worth taking. But as the Chaplain penetrates the family system, an awareness of the intra-family actions and reactions as well as those that occur between the members of the family and the pastor is paramount to an effective ministry with them.[3]

In order to establish the pastoral relationship as a personal one, it is necessary to penetrate the stereotyped roles into which history has cast the Chaplain, the Returnee, and the "POW family."[4] In order to deal with the concept of roles, the matter needs to be confronted, and in this regard the Chaplain may need to

know if the Returnee wants to discuss his POW experiences.[5] In assisting the Returnee to find comfort out of the security of his role as an ex-POW, the Chaplain is advised to face--at least to himself--his own ambivalence (should he experience such) about his own role definition and its restrictions upon him, as well as his possible anxieties about relating to these persons. The pastoral approach suggested here is in psychological terms, Gestalt rather than non-directive.[6]

Trust-building has primitive and physiological antecedents[7] which are so much a part of us that their significance is often ignored or relegated to a position of lesser priority as "social amenities."

The Chaplain, as a representative of religion, has a special position as a trust-builder. "Trust born of care is, in fact, the touchstone of the actuality of a given religion. All religions have in common the periodic childlike surrender to a Provider."[8] Out of the helplessness of the experience of captivity have come many stories of surrender to God and trust in Him. The Chaplain is a reminder of that trust, and bears the challenge of extending that trust in the Divine and in fellow prisoners to a trust relationship with the larger community to which the former POW has returned.[9]

On the other hand, the Chaplain as pastor and as counselor may find himself in a transference relationship with Returnees, his role of authority may have to be untangled from that of the enemy;[10] and in this connection, the experience of being scrutinized occured both in interviewing and during social contacts with Returnees.[11] The Chaplains' telling the Returnee of his sensations during the

transaction as a means of checking the reality of it and as a matter of providing information is a counseling and a therapeutic method of value,[12] and is offered here as a means of building trust through honesty.

The acute perceptiveness and general alertness of the Returnees was noted in most of the interviews and social contacts. If this was not characteristic of them before capture (and it could have been, especially as all interviewees were pilots), it can be assumed to have been developed through a prolonged captivity experience with fear[13] and out of a hunger for a restoration to a life filled with the familiar stimuli of life in their homeland, and of a new appreciation for it. "Sensory doprivation" is not implied here, as this could have had an opposite effect.[14]

Group trust and its dimensions will be explored in the next chapter.[15] The self-isolation of the Returnee can be a very subjective thing.[16] It is "the counterpart of intimacy (which is) distantiation."[17] This can be applied in reverse, namely, that under normal conditions the tendency to isolate can contain within it the readiness for intimacy. Only one Returnee admitted in interview a residual isolation phobia, [18] while others sought the pursuit of religion,[19] education,[20] and demanding schedules of activities[21] in ways that made no room for truly relating with those around them. One Returnee obviously used his role as a "V.I.P." as a means of isolating himself.[22]

The repression of feelings in the Returnees interviewed was often subtly present, but difficult to document in a specific quotation.[23] In interviews, "character" and "maturity" were described

in opposition to pain and feeling,[24] and some saw those who showed their feelings as childish.[25] The succession of crises seen in national life was described as impulsive and immature.[26] "Talking about things, or ourselves and others as though we were things, keeps out any emotional responses or other genuine involvement."[27] This means of avoiding pain in prison is a learned alternative to confronting the pain of personal adjustment to return, and ways by which Chaplains might fall into traps of promoting such denial are suggested as well as ways to "break-up the game."[28] Inference is made to the "awareness therapy" movement that achieved a new popularity and influence on this culture in the past decade, and to which many wives may have undoubtedly become exposed in their growth endeavors.[29] The place of feelings in the parenting relationship was revealed in the responses of one of the wives interviewed.[30]

Activism, "activity," and "time structuring" are used here much as they are used in the terminology of Transactional Analysis.[31] Thus, "during the time of the activity, there is no need for intimate involvement with another person. There may be, but there does not have to be. Some people use their work to avoid intimacy . . . . Activities . . . can keep us apart."[32]

Such activity orientation was observed in the early stages of the adjustment of Returnees,[33] and this was a source of bewilderment to some wives.[34] This was an extension of what had become a way of life in prison, and the rigidity of prison discipline could contribute to rigidity of scheduling of activities after return.[35] The joy of being one's own timekeeper after a period of captivity is a familiar phenomenon in the experience of those released from domestic prisons,[36]

and this could contribute to activism. The exhilaration of freedom, then, would promote activity in the lives of all Returnees except where inhibited by physical handicap.[37] Yet all these factors could easily combine with the sense of the risk involved in in-depth personal encounters to create a life-style which would inhibit the expression of feelings and intimacy.[38]

The Chaplain is advised to assess his own ego-demands which promote such activism in his own life and ministry. Such qualities in him could serve to invite the Returnee or members of his family into situations which would encourage a pattern destructive to reunion, or which might pronounce an unspoken benediction upon such by means of his example.[39]

Chaplains have been so much a part of the pastoral psychology and pastoral counseling developments in the ministry, that it is necessary to remind the Chaplain that this popular movement has become rather generally accepted beyond clergy circles only during recent years.[40] These have been the years during which the longest held prisoners could not have had knowledge of such developments in the American religious community.[41] Therefore, an explanation of the role, and function of the pastoral counselor may have to be undertaken by the Chaplain as a means of opening to the Returnee this avenue of assistance, should it be needed. A word of caution is also offered--that the pastoral counselor himself be aware that his greatest value can be found on a helping team[42] and with a confidence in his own identity as a Chaplain and a man of God.[43] It is interesting to note the degree to which both Returnees and their family members as well as other professionals related to them in an assisting role

do depend upon the unique resources of the Chaplain. In this regard, the area of making good reforrals was explored in the Manual,[44] and it is well to add that the Chaplain will undoubtedly receive numerous referrals from other professionals as well if he is able to be a good "team member" with them. Greater benefit will thereby be offered by all to those who are corporately motivated to help them.

In his role as short-term counselor, the Chaplain is often tempted to make use of facts only as tools for arranging things for people. The need for accurate factual information is presented in the Manual[45] with emphasis upon its use as means to better listening and understanding. Information suggested as having potential for relevance to Returnees and their families came from research in the area of clinical in-take procedures.[46]

DOCUMENTATION

1. Chaplain "M," interview, Apr. 2, 1973; and Chaplain "N," interview, Apr. 23, 1973.

2. The Eleventh Naval District provided excellent and organized Chaplain leadership and training. See Edward I. Swanson, "Chaplains Trained for POW Ministry, "The Chaplain, XXX (Summer, 1973), pp. 40-43.
Cf., (Hospital) Chaplain "R," interview, Mar. 23, 1973: "Our policy is not to bother them, but to wait for them to send for us." Chaplain "N" said: "I have only seen them (on the base) at social gatherings, so far." See Manual, p. 2.

3. See Virginia Satir, Peoplemaking (Palo Alto: Science and Behavior Books, Inc., 1972) pp. 141-164.

4. Lt "A," interview, Apr. 25, 1973: "The guys don't want to be labeled 'POW' forever and ever. The gals don't either." Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 4, 1973, and Mrs. "D," interview, Apr. 23, 1973 are both quoted in the Manual, pp. 1f.
Cf., Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1971), pp. 96-106; Harvey Cox, The Secular City (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1969), pp. 33-40. An interesting application of the need for role liberation is reflected in Nena O'Neill and George O'Neill, Open Marriage: A New Life Style for Couples (New York: M. Evans and Company, Inc., 1972), p. 140: "What had happened was that (the couple) had stopped being the people they were before and started playing the roles of husband and wife."

5. Manual, p. 2; Mrs. "E," conjoint couple interview, Apr. 23, 1973, advised Chaplains to "ask Returnees directly if you want to know something. Don't 'pussy foot.' They will tell you what they don't want to talk about." Lt "E" agreed, but said that if you didn't hear their second refusal, they "might excuse themselves from the conversation." See Appendix A: "Interview with the Returnee," Area II, Questions 2 and 3. Response to Question 1 quoted in Manual, p. 1 given by Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973, who added that he was "tired of answering the same old questions about torture."
See infra, p. 80.

6. Manual, p. 2.
Joen Fagan and Irma Lee Shepherd, ed., Gestalt Therapy Now: Theory, Techniques, Applications, Harper Colophon Books (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1971), p. 103: "The making of oneself into a whole and genuine person is probably the most difficult and painful aspect of becoming a therapist, but, for many it is also the most valuable and important part."

Also, p. 100f: "Humanness . . . includes . . . his willingness to share himself and bring to the patient his own direct emotional responses and/or pertinent accounts of his own experiences."
Cf., Carl R. Rogers, Client-Centered Therapy: Its Current Practice, Implications, and Theory (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951), p. 42: "When evaluation of the client or of his expressions is almost non-existent, counselor bias has little opportunity to become evident, or indeed to exist. . . . In a therapeutic relationship where the therapist endeavors to keep himself out . . . personal distortions and maladjustments are much less likely to occur."

7. Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963), pp. 247-251; cf. Benjamin Spock, Baby and Child Care (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1965), pp. 3f.

8. Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 250; cf. Manual, p. 3.

9. See infra, p. 121 and n. 24; also Manual, p. vi.

10. See infra, pp. 79f.
H. Grauer, "Psychodynamics of the Survivor Syndrome," Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal XIV (December, 1969), 617; Manual, p. 3.

11. The experience of being "Scrutinized" by the Returnee occurred with Lcdr "B" during preliminary meeting, Apr. 4, 1973, and during interview Apr. 17, 1973, but not during interview, Apr. 30, 1973 nor thereafter. This was especially evident during first social contacts with Lcdr "X" and Cdr "Z," early May, 1973.

12. Fagan and Shepherd, Gestalt Therapy Now, p. 235: "The therapist's willingness to encounter the patient with his honest and immediate responses and his ability to challenge the patient's manipulative use of his symptoms without rejecting him are crucial."
Infra, p. 80 and n. 114.

13. Harold I. Lief, "Anxiety Reaction," in Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry, ed. by Alfred M. Freedman and Harold I. Kaplan (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company, 1967), pp. 858ff.
Regarding anxiety in fliers, see Roy R. Grinker, and John P. Spiegel, Men Under Stress, Philadelphia: Blakiston, 1945, pp. 88f.
Navy Capt. Charles R. Gillespie, address to Chaplains, Naval Training Center, San Diego, Ca., Oct. 31, 1973: "(The North Vietnamese) used what I call the psychology of fear. And you just lived in a situation of fear all the time--fear of the known and fear of the unknown."
14. Cynthia P. Deutsch, "Perception," in Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry, pp. 155f.

15. The concept of the "introjection" of good feelings of one's group environment is dealt with in Erikson, Childhood and Society, pp. 248f; cf. Manual, p. 3.
For discussion of group-trust see infra, pp. 40f, and Manual, pp. 11-15.

16. Paul Chodoff, "Late Effects of the Concentration Camp Syndrome," Archives of General Psychiatry VIII (April, 1963), 325.

17. Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 264.

18. Lt "A," interview, Apr. 15, 1972: "Since (those long periods of) solitary, I demand company." Mrs. "A": "He will not stay alone in an empty house."

19. Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 4, 1973. This church-related officer who led services in prison wanted to read books on his faith rather than attend worship during the initial stages of his return. Follow-up has not been possible.

20. Manual, p. 5.
Lcdr "C," interview, Mar. 28, 1973, spent one half of a two-hour session discussing philosophy and theology. On Apr. 3, the interview closed with a trip to a bookstore.

21. Manual, p. 6.
Cdr "D," conjoint interview with wife, Apr. 23, 1973, involved a discussion of this.
Lcdr "B" kept a legal-size pad with each half-hour of each day for weeks in advance listed for task assignments. This was observed during April 1973 as a constructive device for being "one's own timekeeper" amidst the numerous medical and social appointments of early return, providing an illustration of time-structuring, and giving evidence of the expectation of a heavy schedule of activities as well.

22. Cdr "Z," social contacts during early May 1973. (See "respect structure," Manual, p. 53--he was captured during the first third of "Period B.") One wonders if there might be fantasies of omniscience in one who had endured so much.
Cf., infra, pp. 82f.

23. Manual, p. 4.
"The Longest Chapter," All Hands, October, 1973, p. 29:
"Q. What was your reaction to the news that you were going home?
A. (Lcdr George Coker) Nothing. Emotion had pretty well been beaten out of you in early years. It's a luxury you can't afford. You could go into some really depressed periods . . . . Unfortunately, you can't afford to get real optimistic either . . . . "

24. Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 4, 1973: "In my prayers I first asked God for help, for him to save me (from pain) . . . . It took

about 1½ years for me to mature, and then I prayed for 'character.'"

25. Manual, p. 5; Cdr "D," interview, Apr. 25, 1973. Cf., infra, p. 80 and n. 110.

26. Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 30, 1973; see Appendix A: "Interview with the Returnee," Area XVII, Question 2. See Manual, p. 13. Cf., "POW Anguish over Watergate Seen," Oakland Tribune, May 28, 1973, p. 9: "Dr. George Solomon, chief of psychiatry, research, and training at the Palo Alto, Calif., VA Hospital" predicted that "the Watergate scandal will spur the appearance of the Vietnam war's legacy of mental troubles, especially among returned POWs . . . ." Instead of being overwhelmed by such crises, they judged them.

27. Fagan and Shepherd, Gestalt Therapy Now, p. 15.

28. Manual, pp. 5f.

29. Ibid., p. 5. See infra, p. 52, n. 37.

30. Ibid.; Mrs. "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973; Mrs. "A," interview, Apr. 25, 1973.

31. Eric Berne, Transactional Analysis in Psychotherapy, Evergreen Original (New York: Random House, Inc., 1961), pp. 85f.

32. Thomas A. Harris, I'm OK--You're OK: A Practical Guide to Transactional Analysis, (New York and Evanston: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1969), pp. 116f.

33. See supra, p. 31 and n. 21.

34. Mrs. "D," interview, April 23, 1973. See also John T. Wheeler, "Nightmares No Longer Are Forever," San Diego Union, Sept. 2, 1973, p. C-1: Mrs. Norman McDaniel sees "a compulsive need to keep busy" as a change in her husband since his return.

35. John T. Wheeler, "Nightmares," p. C-4: "A psychiatrist said (to Mrs. McDaniel) this (rigidity) is not unreasonable considering that during (Major McDaniel's) camp experiences any deviation from routine or instructions normally resulted in beatings or the withdrawal of privileges and food."

36. The Rev. Tod W. Ewald, visiting Chaplain assisting at San Quentin Prison, interview, Feb. 25, 1973. See Manual, p. 6.

37. "Returned POWs in Better Shape Than Expected," Navy Times, Dec. 5, 1973, p. 41: "Of the 566 POW returnees, about 87 percent have returned to work, most of them still on active duty and the others as civilians. There are 32 still hospitalized, of whom approximately half will return to work. . . .

Only a couple are expected to be permanent wheelchair cases."

38. Manual, p. 6. Cf., infra, p. 80 and n. 117.

39. Ibid., p. 7.

40. Manual, p. 8; see supra, pp. 14f and n. 9.

41. Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 4, 1973. This church-related officer saw the Chaplain almost entirely in the rolo of liturgist, and the concept of the counselor-Chaplain required explanation. Similar impressions were gained with Lcdr "C," interview, Mar. 28, 1973, and Cdr "D," interview, Apr. 23, 1973.

42. Supra, p. 15.

43. Supra, p. 13 and n. 5.

44. Manual, p. 10; also see supra, p. 15 and n. 12.

45. Manual, pp. 8ff.

46. Miss Patricia M. Jones, M.S.W., Chief Psychiatric Social Worker, McAuley Neuropsychiatric Institute, San Francisco, interview, March 8, 1973; reference was also made to intake forms issued by McAuley N.P. Inst., Louisiana State University Division of Child Psychiatry and Developmental Sciences (LSU School of Medicine), and by the L.S.U. Florida Avenue Child Study Center.

CHAPTER 5

"II. ORGANIZATION AND COMMUNITY"

The communal element of the life of the POW was so strong that it was decided that a special section of the Manual was necessary to deal with it. This demand for corporateness as a learned experience over such a period of time under stress undoubtedly remains a part of life for the Returnee, and the Chaplain should be aware of it if he is to know and minister to Returnees and their families. The striving for communications, contact[1] and organization[2] with other prisoners was described by Returnees as being so strong that an association of these with their very survival can be assumed. Further, from this enforced prolonged association in close quarters, there is much to be learned as to how humans can co-exist peacefully,[3] and how fellowship may find its deepest roots in normal living.[4] Difference in persons and in beliefs were accepted, and mutual respect could then be established and be functional.

Helplessness can find an answer in trust,[5] and trust and faith are linked.[6] Trust is existential, while faith involves the anticipation of the future dimension as well as the reaffirmation of the unseen that lies behind tangible reality.[7] Thus, there is defined "a double citizenship: one vertical, to take effect when; and one horizontal, always in effect now."[8] Faith in the meta-

physical or divine, therefore, demands expression in a human society.

When every claim to the identity of the POW was severely threatened,[9] Returnees attested to the fact that faith was all they had left.[10] There is evidence that when that failed, men died.[11] Thus the struggle to make that faith a reality through trustworthy contact with other humans and through the development of a trustworthy POW society in the face of enemy efforts to promote distrust was tantamount to survival.

It must be added that it is only natural that this society would include the organization of religious and patriotic expression as links to sources of trust in isolation,[12] and likewise it is only natural that Returnees would feel the need to undertake social responsibility and to strive for the cause of justice through political involvement upon return.[13] The Manual suggests ways the Chaplain can relate communal religious expression at home (removed from the threat of the enemy) to that which was so spontaneous in prison,[14] and by which he can expedite trustworthiness on the behalf of the community to which the Returnees have been repatriated.[15]

Military operational units are close-knit psychosocial entities. Their combat mission serves to reinforce this closeness by demanding teamwork and trust for survival.[16] The ties between the members of the unit are commonly reflected in the ties between their families where they reside in geographic proximity. This communal experience at its best can be described in terms that approach a religious dimension, and which reflect the familiar social milieu in which the military man's self-definition is largely

influenced.[17] When he is completely separated from this group, his identity is threatened,[18] Retention of personal identity placed a survival urgency upon the re-establishment of the familiar military organization as a friendly infrastructure within the prison.[19] The group provided the guidance necessary to combat the isolation used by Communist captors to manipulate loyalties,[20] and it provided a regularization of ritual absolving of the guilt of those who had experienced failure in their efforts to resist under torture;[21] and it provided for the "excommunication" of those who had apparently chosen other loyalties or had found them temporarily expedient.[22] These actions provided a means of mutual reinforcement of ego-superego boundaries that assisted the continuation of resistance and guarded against defections through prisoner identification with the enemy.[23]

Communal organization strengthened self-concept for survival and for resistance as well. The increase in suggestibility in victims of prolonged social isolation[24] and of sensory isolation[25] has been documented. Thus group affiliation and communications enhanced resistance to "brain-washing."[26]

Another means whereby prisoners combated suggestibility in themselves was by the disciplined use of the mind. Examples of this have been documented from solitary confinement,[27] but this activity was extended to the cell group and beyond whenever organization of such activities could be expedited.[28] Once again, community life was reinforced by the compelling will to survive. In this case it was the survival of the mind and of the sanity that motivated it.[29]

Residual effects of such prolonged closeness required for survival can be seen in the continued closeness of what has been called in this writing the "POW Brotherhood." Men who said that they learned to know each other better than they knew their wives,[30] who could retell each other's detailed biographies without flaw,[31] stepped off different airplanes from Hanoi and made statements to the awaiting crowds and to the press that were so similar that some questioned whether or not they had been programmed as to what to say,[32] and Returnees expressed anxiety about the individualism being expressed in American life.[33]

The Chaplain is advised throughout this section of the Manual to be alert to how the communal experiences of POWs can be valued and usefully assimilated by both the culture and the Returnee, as well as adjustments that may be appropriate. The Chaplain is also challenged to express the "welcome home" in sincere, sustained, and meaningful ways,[34] ways which will liberate and not substitute an isolated repatriation for the community life of prison.[35]

DOCUMENTATION

1. Appendix A: "Interview with the Returnee," Area V, Question 1--immediate response by Lt "A," in interview, Apr. 25, 1973: "Being with other guys." Missing home was mentioned later and with lesser forcefulness. This was a typical reply.
   Manual, pp. 11, 52, and 69.
   Navy Capt. Charles R. Gillespie, address to Chaplains, Naval Training Center, San Diego, Oct. 31, 1973: "Communication is essential for organization, so that the men who are seniors can take charge and promulgate the policies which are necessary so that everyone is taking the same line."
   Howard Rutledge and Phyllis Rutledge, "In the Presence of Mine Enemies, 1965 - 1973: A Prisoner of War, Old Tappan, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1973, pp. 41-43, explains mechanics of wall tapping.

2. Manual, pp. 11f; "The Transcript," Navy Times, Apr. 18, 1973, p. 5.
   All interviews contained details of the organization of the Fourth Composite Allied Wing (see Appendix A: "Interview with the Returnee," Area VIII, Question 1).
   Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973, suggested the motto: "If he can do it, I can do it." (See Manual, p. 11).
   Mrs. "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973, stated the same motto in regard to POW/MIA wives.

3. Manual, pp. 12f.
   Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 30, 1973: "We put up no false images, because your cell mates could see through them. Each man was himself (and) talked freely. There was no diplomatic maneuvering, and you were not the enemy if you disagreed. We were closer because we worked together on details. We told our stories to each other so often that we knew them by heart. We were closer to each other than we were to our wives. There was a very candid respect. When an argument started, we would back away. We wouldn't take it personally, but we would say it was just an 'MF' or 'Manifestation of Frustration' (Manual, p. 31)."
   Lt "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973: "We had to get along to survive."
   Capt. Gillespie, address, Oct. 31, 1973: "If you live in a cell with a man or two or three men for 4 or 5 years, you learn to get along with them pretty good because you are with them 24 hours a day. You learn to respect them, you learn to love them, despite all of the little idiosyncrasies and habits that they have that would perhaps alienate them to you in the world we live in here in this country . . . . You realize your own quirks, as well. . . . so you go beyond that."

4. See Manual, pp. 13, 58f, 61.

E.g., p. 13, the effect of this captivity upon the religious experience of many was such as to enhance an ecumenical awareness that did not ignore differences but which clung to essentials.
Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 4, 1973 (Manual, pp. 57f), interview, Apr. 30, 1973; and Capt Gillespie, address, Oct. 31, 1973.

5. Manual, p. 37; Lt "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973: "Freedom of flight is the greatest freedom. From that to being behind bars in just your 'scivvies'--stripped--was a contrast that brought on an acute depression (for me)."
See supra, p. 30 and n.8.

6. Erik H. Erikson, Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History, The Norton Library (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1962), p. 118: "Of all the ideological systems, . . . only religion restores the earliest sense of appeal to a Provider, a Providence."
Also see supra, n. 5.

7. See Erikson, Luther, p. 119.

8. Ibid., p. 180.

9. See Manual, pp. 36ff; and infra, pp. 41f and n. 17; p. 71.

10. Capt Gillespie, address, Oct. 31, 1973: "When we were tortured and when they took everything from you, all you had left was your faith."
Lt "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973: "(What kept me going was) faith . . . faith in my family, faith in God, and faith in my country."
"20 POWs Land at Travis Today," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 17, 1973, p. 1: Lcdr Everett Alvarez, Jr. stated, "(What kept me going was) prayers, faith in my country and faith in my fellow prisoners."

11. "POWs who Chose to Die," San Francisco Chronicle, Apr. 4, 1973, p. 8; see Manual, p. 69.

12. Manual, p. 58; Lcdr "C," interview, Mar. 28, 1973.
Cf., Peter Arnett, "143 Arrive at Base in Philippines," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 12, 1973, p. 1: Navy Captain Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr., first Returnee to deplane at Clark A.F.B., Philippines, concluded his public remarks with sentiments typical of those expressed by many who followed him--"God bless America."

13. Manual, pp. 13 and 70.
Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963, p. 254: "We have related basic trust to the institution of religion. The lasting need of the individual to have his will reaffirmed and

delineated within an adult order of things which at the same time reaffirms and delineates the will of others has an institutional safeguard in the principle of law and order." "Thus the sense of autonomy . . . serves (and is served by) the preservation in economic and political life of a sense of justice."
Also, on p. 251: "There are many who seem to derive a vital faith from social action or scientific pursuit."
Examples can be seen in "POW Pilots May Move into Politics." Oakland Tribune, Apr. 8, 1973, p. 3: (Red River Valley Association);
"POW Eyes Senate, Facing AF Gag," Oakland Tribune, May 24, 1973, p. E-3; and "Ex-POW in Senate Race," San Francisco Examiner, Jan. 4, 1974, p. 7: (now retired Air Force Lt.Col. Leo K. Thorsness of Sioux Falls, S.D.); and
"Ex-POW Ruled Eligible to Run," San Diego Union, Sept. 16, 1973, p. AA-2: (Air Force Col. James L. Hughes, for governor of New Mexico).

14. Manual, p. 13. This would include urging avoidance of seclusiveness from the religious social unit appropriate to return. (See Manual, pp. 4 - 7; also supra, p. 31).
Comments on celebrities (Manual, p. 14) is both a word of gratitude as well as precaution that the Chaplain not invite the Returnee into his loneliness and thus divert him from the community. A panel of psychiatrists documented V.I.P. loneliness on the "Merv Griffin Show," N.B.C. telecast, Jan. 3, 1974: "Kids of the Rich."

15. E.g., Manual, p. 15, regarding Cdr. "W" and his family.

16. Observations of the writer from his experiences on active duty as a Navy Chaplain, see supra, pp. 10f.

17. Manual, p. 52.
Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 43.

18. Manual, pp. 36ff; and infra, pp. 71f and n. 3.

19. Manual, p. 11 (motto suggested in response to Lcdr "B," interview Apr. 17, 1973.
See supra, p. 40 and n. 2.

20. See Manual, pp. 39 - 41; and the discussion of this, infra, pp. 74.
William Sargant, Battle for the Mind, Pan Books, Ltd. (London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1957), p. 168: "An immediate element of anxiety (for eliciting of confessions) is produced by the warning that it is a criminal offence to tell anyone . . . . Being thus cut off from all advice which he would ordinarily expect . . . he finds his tension and anxiety redoubled."

21. Edward V. Stein, Guilt: Theory and Therapy (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1968), p. 194: " . . . The familial biological dependency of man, out of which his trust and his tendencies to project a cosmic parenting figure emerge, is exactly the 'scientific' phenomenon (the given to our world) which irreducibly confronts us. It is the nature of the creative intelligence pervading all phenomena, and constitutes the sufficient symbolism by which man can meaningfully order his relationship to the cosmos, including other men."
Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 250: "All religions have in common the periodic childlike surrender to a Provider . . .; and finally, the insight that individual trust must become a common faith, individual mistrust a commonly formulated evil, while the individual's restoration must become part of the ritual practice of many, and must become a sign of trustworthiness in the community."
Such a "religious" concept can be observed in practice in the "secular" circumstance of the POW community. (See infra, p. 121 and n. 14) and the burden of guilt can be seen as conflicting. a POW fearful of his first meeting with a representative of that community (Manual, p. 11: Lt "A," interview, Apr. 25, 1973) or as a source of relief to another after his first interrogation (Rutledge, Enemies, pp. 29f).

22. Manual, p. 12.
E.g., "American POW Commander Denounces 'Collaborators,'" Monterey Peninsula Herald (California), Apr. 24, 1973, p. 2.
"Col. Guy Explains: 'I Made a Promise,'" San Francisco Examiner, July 5, 1973, p. 16.
"Two POW Officers Accused of Mutiny," San Francisco Examiner, June 26, 1973, p. 12.
"New Mutiny Charges Filed Against POWs by Officer," San Francisco Examiner, July 25, 1973, p. 14.
Cf., Erik H. Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1968), p. 224: "Only societal processes representing a multiple mutuality, then, will recreate the "average expectability" of the environments either through ceremonial rededication or systematic reformulation. In both cases, elected or self-selected leaders . . . feel . . . called upon to demonstrate . . . a superpersonal interest in the maintenance and rejuvenation of institutions."
Thus the members of the community represented the community itself as well as the authority of its leadership. And the leadership spoke for the community.

23. Erwin K. Koranyi, "Psychodynamic Theories of the 'Survivor Syndrome,'" Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal, XIV (April, 1969), 169 and 171.
See infra, p. 74, n. 56.

24. Sargant, Mind, pp. 168f; cf. Richard H. Walters, John E. Callagan, and Albert F. Newman, "Effect of Solitary Confinement on Prisoners," American Journal of Psychiatry, CXIX (February, 1963), 771-773.
See infra, p. 74.

25. Philip Solomon, "Sensory Deprivation," in Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry, ed. by Alfred M. Freedman and Harold I. Kaplan (Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1967), p. 253:
" . . . solitary confinement (in) the laboratory . . . demonstrated that volunteer subjects, under conditions of visual, auditory, and tactile deprivation for periods of up to 7 days, reacted with increased suggestibility."
By comparison, food and sleep deprivation imposed by living conditions or by enemy interrogators were not factors subject to intervention by POW community action. Vulnerability to alterations of the conscious will due to food or sleep deprivation are not indicated. See Evelyn Crumpton, David B. Wine, and Ernest J. Drenick, "Starvation: Stress or Satisfaction?" Journal of the American Medical Association, CXCVI (May, 1966), 108-110; and Robert T. Wilkinson, "Sleep Deprivation," in Physiology of Human Survival, ed. by Otto G. Edholm and A. L. Bacharach (London and New York: Academic Press, Ltd. 1955), pp. 411-429.

26. Manual, pp. 37-40

27. Manual, p. 42; infra, p. 82.

28. Manual, pp. 12, 42f.
Lcdr "C," interview, Apr. 3, 1973.
"How POWs Improvised Classrooms in Captivity," San Francisco Examiner, Mar. 5, 1973, p. 6.
"POW Studies Pay Off," Navy Times, Nov. 14, 1973, pp. E-15f.

29. L. Eitinger, "Schizophrenia among Concentration Camp Survivors," International Journal of Psychiatry, V (May, 1967), 406:
" . . . comparing different groups of (World War II civilian) concentration camp survivors. In a group of 'healthy' persons more than half were of the opinion that their being together with a relative or friend was decisive for their survival. In a group of 'neurotic' survivors only 15% had this experience, while all the later schizophrenias were completely isolated.

30. Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 30, 1973 (supra, p. 40 and n.3).
"A.M. Show," K.G.O. (San Francisco) telecast, Apr. 4, 1974: Moderator, Jim Dunbar: interview with Air Force Capt. William Butler. In conversation, former cell-mates and others were distinguished with the term "he 'lived with' me," or "he did not 'live with' me." This was a typically used phrase and seemed to reflect the close relationship of POWs.

31. Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 30, 1973 (supra, p. 40, n. 3).

32. Manual, p. 13.
E.g., "A.M. Show," telecast, Apr. 4, 1973: Dunbar: "A lot of us are wondering about the extent to which the returning POWs were 'prepared' for the kind of ceremony that was presented (on arrival). There seemed to be almost a litany in terms of the

response when these guys would get off the plane. A lot of folks were wondering if you were given some kind of script . . . . The uniformity of the responses is what has bothered some."
Air Force Capt. William Butler, Returnee: "No, there was no (such) policy. They were allowed to say whatever they wanted."
Other examples of uniformity were observed in replies to the question, "What kept you going?" (Manual, p. 57); in the statement, "I knew . . . I'd be going home, and those poor b------s would stay there" (Manual, p. 40); and in the quotation of Hebrews 11:1 (Manual, p. 72). These remarks among others recurred in the media and interviews from different sources.

33. Manual, p. 13; cf. p. 65.
Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 4, 1973, Lcdr "C," interview, Mar. 28, 1973.

34. Cf. Erikson, Luther, ch. 6 (wherein the theological foundation of sincerity is discussed).

35. E.g., infra, ch. 6.

CHAPTER 6

"III. THE RETURNEE AND HIS FAMILY: RE-ENTRY AND REUNION"

The first moments of reunion of Returnees with their families were carefully studied on television, in articles and newsphotos.[1] The dynamics of the family observed in reunion gave many hints of things to come,[2] and memories of homecoming are suggested as points of entry for the Chaplain-counselor.[3]

A theory is advanced that anticipatory "grief work" was influential in the lives of these separated families, and in some cases irreversible to the point of effecting divorce.[4] Suggestions were offered as to how a knowledge of such grief work might be useful in pastoral care.[5]

This theory was prompted by observations made by the Author when serving with high-risk combat involved units as Chaplain.[6] It was noticed that many men who gave evidence of having close marriages and satisfying Rest and Recreation trips involving temporary reunions with their wives, returned at the completion of their combat tours of duty to abandonment and divorce. Speculation was made that the first real insights the wives got as to their husbands' duty and constant proximity to death were gained on "R & R," and that this triggered a subconscious grief process that might cushion the shock of the loss of a cherished relationship.[7]

Symptoms of grief were identified,[8] grief was identified as a process,[9] and the existance of the phenomenon of anticipatory "grief work" in the families of victims of terminal illnesses were investigated in one study made at the University of Minnesota Center for Death Education and Research.[10]

The proposal was then applied to POW/MIA families, and offered as an aid to the understanding of the Returnee who returned to a marital disappointment.[11]

Idealization of the absent one[12] and the preoccupation--even search for--his image,[13] the regressive loss of initiative demanding a dependency upon others or upon organized activity demands to keep going,[14] suspension of meaningful social life,[15] anger,[16] and guilt[17] are seen as elements of grief of special interest to this study which were identifiable in the POW families. Magical thinking[18] and the wife's fantasies of her husband's death[19] were seen as related to anticipatory grief as means of bracing for the feared shock of complete and final loss. The wife's initiating a career was seen as the possible beginning of an acceptance of his death;[20] while the hope of small children [21] and Chaplains' retreats[22] for wives were seen as possible sources of interruptions in the anticipatory grief process. Religious faith helped some wives keep going either as an extension of magic thinking[23] or as a strength to accept reality.[24]

Other elements contributing to divorce or abandonment by the wife[25] were listed as immaturity, impatience,[26] insecure pre-deployment marriage,[27] and confronting rigidity in the Returnee.[28] The Returnees who were married found a principal encounter upon return involved the personal growth in maturity and managerial ability that

was required of their mate during their absence,[29] and her desire for his appreciation of what she had endured and accomplished.[30] The relationships, those broken during separation and those fulfilled in marriage upon return, as well as the individual parties to these relationships, are seen as important for the Chaplain to recognize.[31] The dispersion of the "POW Brotherhood" is also seen as of significance, especially to those abandoned by wife or fiancee.[32]

Conjoint Family Therapy is suggested as a model for family counseling in the case of the reunion readjustments inevitable for these families,[33] and it is suggested here as most useful for counseling in the Navy, with the many separations and returns required of its families. Chaplains are well suited for training in this area, and it is seen as a great asset to their work in the ministry, rather than either collateral to it or as an attempt to usurp another discipline.[34]

The principal books and video-tapes for information in the field of Conjoint Family Therapy were written into the text of the Manual, because these are not only references for that writing, but they are recommended for use by the readers.[35]

The eclectic[36] nature of this mode of counseling allows the Chaplain the freedom to apply his previous training to it and yet to grow while using it. Its emphasis on feelings and personal awareness[37] as primary places of entry are in line with the need to penetrate the intellectual and activist forms of denial in Returnees.[38] Transactional Analysis, a popular mode of counseling, is seen by the Author as being clinically exercised as such a "rational" method, that it has the built-in potential danger of reinforcing the intellectualization process as the counselee learns more about himself and

his family rather than learning to know himself and them.[39]

Conjoint family counseling is a means to expedite the reunion by opening communications[40] and mutual nurturing processes[41] with the whole family present and involved. In captivity, POWs learned to listen to each other.[42] Likewise, wives with children were confronted with their nurturing needs in the absence of the father, and this required communication.[43] However, the POW Returnee seeking re-entry to his own family will need to renegotiate and recontract his relationship with his wife,[44] will need to learn to express intimacy and to parent new or older children; and his wife needs to be appreciated for her endurance and coping at a time when her husband is the celebrity.[45] Likewise, if he becomes the "identified patient,"[46] then the family is free to resist a shift to effect his welcome. Communications with the family will open the way for all involved to share experiences of captivity and separation, thus filling the needs of every family member to "debrief,"[47] a process identified in this study as being integral with the adjustment necessary after severe stress or trauma.[48]

A distinct advantage to the type of counseling advocated is that it follows the "growth model,"[49] and does not demand sickness, fault, or problems to fulfill its objective of providing enrichment and growth.

The wife to whom the POW returned was a different person in many ways than the one he long dreamed of as the one he left.[50] Her efforts to nurture and to manage the family as a single parent,[51] her efforts to keep his image alive for herself and for the children,[52] her independence, personal growth, education, in some cases her

career achievements[53] and interventions with the diplomatic world on behalf of her husband[54] not only reflected women's liberation but provided unrecognized leadership for it.[55]

The strong personalities of many of the military POWs before capture[56] which survived the identity crises of capture[57] were in most cases strengthened.[58] Wives were aware of their new strengths; but with the gruesome details of the captivity so well publicized, and with knowledge of the condition of the victims of past wars' captivities, they were made aware of the possibility of overwhelming their Returnee-husbands. Homecoming was anticipated with a fear of the worst, and a hope for the best.[59] Caution was well advised in the face of release from this unique captivity; and luckily most returned with an unanticipated vigor.[60] It is this majority and the long-term readjustment that are addressed, when the Manual suggests that with proper negotiation and good communication, the strength of both partners have constructive potentials in mutual ego-building rather than in destructive competition.[61] Thus, the growth of the wife is seen as something to offer to the husband, as something that will aid his realistic return, rather than something by which most Returnees would be overwhelmed or that which she can withhold in a healthy manner.[62]

In the renegotiation of the marital relationship involved, in addition to acceptance or rejection there is a third alternative of wishful thinking--a denial that things are not as it was hoped they would be.[63] Examples cited are based upon such persisting statements as: "He is changed," or, "He is more tolerant," when there is evidence to the contrary.[64] The Manual implies this to

be an area of pastoral care in which problems might be anticipated by the alert Chaplain.[65]

Recontracting of relations upon return involves not only individuals, but re-entry into the family system.[66] This is complicated not only by the need to accept the Returnee as a needed member of the entire family that has had to learn not to need him, but also by the fact that gradual structural changes have occured in the patterns and expectations of the American family during his absence which will confront the Returnee with surprises which he may find threatening.[67] On the other side of the ledger, there may be problem areas he remembers from former years with the extended family which may have been resolved in his absence.[68]

Sexual readjustment problems were feared by wives anticipating their husbands' return.[69] The men found it necessary to assert their competency by whimsical statements of reassurance;[70] but the fact remained that each couple faced its own sexual adjustments or readjustments, and that all elements of establishing the reunion and of opening communications have an effect upon one another.[71]

Opening communications with his children will continually make demands upon the Returnee.[72] The need to learn how to enjoy one's children and yet the fear of learning this is commonly observed in fathers often deployed for long periods of time or stress.[73] Older children have developed ideological opinions and have the ability to express personal ones.[74] Returnees may have a problem with rigidity,[75] and many possess a conservatism which may encounter opposition in older children. Likewise, the young are the

most likely point of encounter between cultural changes and the parental need in the Returnee to be in control. Parenting together by open mutual support yet with negotiation in private by husband and wife is seen as crucial for the re-entry process of Returnees with children,[76] as well as being a good principle generally.[77]

The unique problems of children of absent fathers are discussed in the Manual,[78] the adjustments of sons[79] and daughters[80] were considered separately; and it is suggested that a second loss later in life could trigger residual depression yet unresolved from the former absence of the POW father.[81] "Modeling" child—parent behavior is suggested as an effective pastoral and counseling tool for the Chaplain.[82]

The Manual risks a generalization that marriages or families troubled before capture faced handicaps upon reunion, that good relationships before capture had advantages in reuniting.[83] An important observation is made that not all family problems encountered by these families are unique to the POW family.[84] This encourages the application of family dynamics research and clinical approaches to this family as in the case of other families,[85] and this is seen as a sign of hope by the family troubled in the reunion process.[86]

It was also added that families that faced the sacrifices of POW separations witnessed to the fact that they had been better equipped by the experience to help others.[87]

DOCUMENTATION

1. Telecasts were too numerous to document and on all networks. Many of these were recorded on audio-tape and studied in detail. In addition, the number of newspaper articles following provided material for the study of reunions:
Richard Paoli, "Elation at Travis for 1st POWs," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 14, 1973, p. 1;
Richard Paoli, "2 New Groups of POWs Greeted Quietly at Travis," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 15, 1973, pp. 1,14; includes sequences of photographs of two reunions;
"Joyful POWs Reach Travis," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 15, 1973, p. E 3: entirely composed of photographs;
Andy Jokelson, "Tears of Joy at Reunion," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 15, 1973, p. 15;
"Hello to a Stranger," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 16, 1973, p. 1: sequence of photographs of reunion of Air Force Maj. Hayden Lockhart, wife and son;
John Miller, "Happy Hospital Reunions Held," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 16, 1973, p. 23 F;
"Some Ex-POWs Get Leaves at Travis," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 21, 1973, p. 13: includes photograph of reunion of Air Force Capt. Hubert K. Flesher and wife;
"Home at Last!" Newsweek, Feb. 26, 1973, pp. 16-20, 22-24: includes 5 pages of color photographs of reunions;
"A Boy and POW Dad Meet for First Time," Oakland Tribune, Mar. 9, 1973, p. 1: story and photograph of Army CWO Roy E. Ziegler, II, greeting his son;
"A POW's Return--Unrestrained Joy," Oakland Tribune, Mar. 10, 1973, p. 6 E; sequence of photographs of Air Force Lt. Col. Jack Bomar with his wife and grown daughter;
Larry D. Hatfield, "Charge of the Strim Brigade," San Francisco Examiner, Mar. 18, 1973, pp. 1, 7: includes photograph of entire family at the moment of greeting Air Force Lt. Col. Robert Strim;
"3 Aircraft Bring 60 POWs Home," Oakland Tribune, Mar. 18, 1973, pp. 1, 14: includes photograph of Air Force Capt. Carl Chambers greeting his wife, and Air Force Lt. Col. Robert Strim's family approaching him;
Charles Petit, "A mixed Welcome," San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 19, 1973, pp. 1, 18: includes photographs of four reunions;
"More Cheers for Returning POWs," Oakland Tribune, Mar. 19, 1973, p. F 15: includes photograph of Navy Lcdr David J. Carey and fiancee Karen Nelson, and Air Force Maj. David E. Ford and family;
John T. Wheeler, "Freedom through Faith--A POW's Saga," Oakland Tribune, Mar. 25, 1973, p. 1: includes photograph of Air Force Maj. Norman A. McDaniel and family;
"Dad! Dad! Dad! Happy 3 of a Kind," San Francisco Examiner, Apr. 1, 1973, p. 1; photograph of Navy Lt. Aubrey Nichols and family in reunion greeting;

"Travis Welcome Is Red-Carpet Affair," Oakland Tribune, Apr. 1, 1973, pp. 1, 16: includes photograph of Air Force Major E. W. Leonard greeting his sister;
"Ex-POW Aims for Marathon," San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle, Apr. 1, 1973, p. C-5: includes photograph of Air Force Capt. John Fer being greeted by his mother;
William O'Brien, "Buried Alive--Longest Held Civilian," San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle, Apr. 1, 1973, pp. A-1, A-4: includes photograph of reunion of Air Force Major and Mrs. Edward W. Leonard;
"Ailing Last POW May Return Late," Oakland Tribune,Apr. 2, 1973, p. E-25: includes photograph of Navy Cdr. Gordon R. Nakagawa greeting his mother and father;
Charles Petit, "Travis' Last Big POW Welcome," San Francisco Chronicle, Apr. 2, 1973, pp. 1, 16: includes photographs of two family reunions and one with squadron members.

2. Two samples of predictions made that proved accurate follow.
"Hello to a Stranger," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 16, 1973: First greeting with 7 year old son with a handshake was seen as behavior programed by the mother and reflective of her true feelings.
Cf. "Former POW Wins Divorce," Oakland Tribune, May 10, 1973, p. 24: Air Force Maj. Hayden J. Lockhart, Jr., "The divorce was granted on grounds of 'gross neglect of duty' and extreme cruelty.
Comparable greeting: "A Boy and POW Dad Meet for First Time," Oakland Tribune, Mar. 9, 1973, p. 1: concerning Army CWO Roy E. Ziegler, II, who returned a widower.
Also, Hatfield, "Charge of the Strim Brigade," San Francisco Examiner, Mar. 18, 1973: In the photograph, those running fastest to father are the oldest children. The wife is next to the last with the youngest son.
Cf. "Divorce Sought by POW's Wife," Oakland Tribune, May 24, 1973, p. 20: concerning Air Force Lt. Col. Robert Strim and Mrs. Loretta Strim.
3. Manual, p. 16.

4. Manual, pp. 17-21

5. Ibid., pp. 18 and 20.

6. Specifically, 3d Battalion, 9th Marine Regiment, Third Marine Division and Navy Light Attack Helicopter Squadron Three, see supra, p. 11.

7. Manual, p. 18.

8. Manual, p. 17.
Erich Lindemann, "Symptomatology and Management of Acute Grief," Journal of Pastoral Care, V (Fall, 1951), 19-31, Reprinted from American Journal of Psychiatry, CI (September, 1944).
Clemens E. Benda, "Bereavement and Grief Work," Journal of Pastoral Care, XVI (Spring, 1962), 1-13.

9. Manual, p. 18.
Sigmund Freud, Mourning and Melancholia, in Collected Papers, trans. by Joan Riviere (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1959), pp. 152-170.
A.A. Brill, Freud's Contribution to Psychiatry, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1944), ch.10: "Mourning, Melancholia, and Compulsions."
Robert Fulton, "Death, Grief and Social Recuperation," Omega, I (February, 1970), 23-28.
George L. Engel, "Is Grief a Disease? A Challenge for Medical Research," Psychosomatic Medicine, XXIII (Jan.-Feb., 1961), 18-22.
Edgar N. Jackson, Understanding Grief, Its Roots, Dynamics, and Treatment. (New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958), pp. 15-43.
Edgar N. Jackson, "Grief and Religion," in The Meaning of Death, ed. by Herman Feifel (New York: The Blakiston Division, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959), pp. 218-233.

10. Robert Fulton and Julie Fulton, "A Psychosocial Aspect of Terminal Care: Anticipatory Grief," Omega, II (May, 1971), 91-100.
Cf. Elisabeth Kubler-Ross, On Death and Dying (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1972), p. 169: "When anger, resentment, and guilt can be worked through, the family will then go through a phase of preparatory grief, just as the dying person does. The more this grief can be expressed before death, the less unbearable it becomes afterward."
After having formulated this theory independently from Viet Nam post-combat observations (supra, p. 50), the following quotation was discovered, confirming this idea. Lindemann, "Acute Grief," p. 30: "While this (anticipatory grief) reaction may well form a safeguard against the impact of a sudden death notice, it can turn out to be of a disadvantage at the occasion of reunion. Several instances of this sort came to our attention when a soldier just returned from the battlefield complained that his wife did not love him anymore and demanded immediate divorce. In such situations apparently the grief work had been done so effectively that the patient has emancipated herself and the readjustment must now be directed towards new interaction. It is important to know this because many family disasters of this sort may be avoided through prophylactic measures."

11. Manual, p. 20.

12. Ibid., pp. 17f, 24, 27.
Benda, "Bereavement," p. 10.
Mrs. "D," interview, Apr. 23, 1973: "I had my children kiss their father's picture every night before bed."

13. Manual, pp. 17f.
Lindemann, "Acute Grief," pp. 20, 22.
Mrs. "K," interview, Apr. 29, 1973: "That (MIA wife) is at every

homecoming plane arrival and at every function, yet she knows that her husband is not going to come back. It's hard to watch her."

14. Manual, pp. 17f.
Benda, "Bereavement," p. 3;
Lindemann, "Acute Grief," p. 25; cf. p. 27f;
Jackson, Understanding Grief, pp. 65f.
Mrs. "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973: "My neighbors, my friends, and keeping busy--that's what kept me going (while he was gone)."

15. Manual, p. 17.
Benda, "Bereavement," p. 7; and Lindemann, "Acute Grief," p. 26.

16. Manual, pp. 17, 19.
Lindemann, "Acute Grief," p. 26.
Mrs. "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973: "My oldest child was angry at his daddy, that he would get himself into that."

17. Manual, pp. 17, 19f.
Benda, "Bereavement," pp. 4f, 11;
Lindemann, "Acute Grief," pp. 21f;
Jackson, "Grief and Religion," p. 223; and
Jackson, Understanding Grief, pp. 88-101.

18. Manual, pp. 17, 19.
Richard C. Hall and William C. Simmons, "The POW Wife: A Psychiatric Appraisal," Archives of General Psychiatry, XXIX (November, 1973), 692: "Many of the wives were apprehensive of their own 'magical powers.' One patient whose husband was MIA, for example, recalled an argument that occurred shortly before he left for Vietnam. During this argument she told him that she hoped he would be killed; after he was reported MIA she felt magically responsible for his loss."
Jackson, Understanding Grief, pp. 54ff.
Cf., supra, n. 13: Mrs. "K."

19. Manual, p. 18.
Mrs. "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973: "When the news came that he was shot down, it was like a well rehearsed play."

20. Manual, p. 33.

21. Mrs. "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973: She provided personal accounts of the reactions of her children which were quoted in the Manual, pp. 20f.
Cf., Manual, p. 5: regarding the emotional nurturing between mother and children during the POW's absence.

22. Manual, p. 19.
These comments are based upon a number of retreats for POW/MIA

wives during the time of separation by Navy Chaplain, Cdr John W. Berger and civilian psychologist Evelyn Berger, Ph.D., of Oakland, California.

23. Manual, p. 18f.

24. Ibid., p. 69.

25. Wayne Carlson, "The POWs Now--Most Adjusting," Evening Tribune (San Diego), Feb. 2, 1974, p. A-1: "More than half of the men married at the time of their capture are now divorced or are involved in dissolution proceedings."
But for some marriages, the end had come or had been decided before "Operation Homecoming," e.g.: "Some Returning to Broken Homes," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 14, 1973, p. 6; the most publicized being the divorce and "remarriage" of Mrs. Hortencia Alvarez from Lcdr (then Lt) Everett J. Alvarez, Jr. in advance of his repatriation: "POW Sued for Divorce," Oakland Tribune, Oct. 11, 1972, p. 1F.
Charlotte Saikowski, "How Fare the Ex-POW's?" Oakland Tribune, Nov. 14, 1973, p. 18 A: "Thirteen (divorces) occurred while the husband was in captivity."

26. Cf., "The Anger of Absence," Time, June 27, 1969, pp. 78-80. This summary of various studies by armed forces of the effects of the absence of husbands demonstrates that "depression is most likely to afflict wives of servicemen if they think that their husband's absence is pointless." Wives of motivated volunteers had least difficulty; and POWs, for the most part, represent this group (see Manual, p. 36). It is remarkable that so many marriages, then, did survive captivity separations.
Evidence of the effect of the wife on the endurance of her husband was also seen in this research; e.g., infra, p.72, n. 19.

27. Manual, pp. 16f.

28. See supra, p. 32 and n. 35; and infra, p.80 and n. 113.

29. Many articles have been written on this subject; e.g. "POW Wife Learns to Manage," Oakland Tribune, Dec. 12, 1972, p. 40: "At first Mrs. Perkins (wife of Air Force Maj. Glendon Perkins) . . . said she tried to base all her decisions on what her husband would do. But she said eventually those decisions seemed as out of date as the crew cuts that her sons . . . wore when their father went to war. ..... the new Kay Perkins enrolled in night school, earned a high school diploma and entered a nearby community college where she's majoring in psychology. (She) became active in local POW causes and started organizing rallies and making speeches (140 in all) to local service clubs. . . .'I know if Glen had stayed home my only interest would have been cleaning house and taking care of the children.'"
"I'm my own Person Now," Redbook, July, 1968, pp. 8-14.
Mary Smith, "Waiting Wives," Ebony, February, 1968, pp. 44-52.

30. Mrs. "D," conjoint interview, Apr. 23, 1973: "For five damned years I coped, and I coped well; and I stood on my own two feet. Now I want to be treated like a woman!"
See Manual, pp. 24f, regarding the wife's need to debrief.

31. Cf., Manual, pp. 69f.

32. Manual, p. 29; cf.,p. 13.

33. Manual, pp. 21-24.

34. Ibid., p. 23.
Virginia M. Satir, "The Family as a Treatment Unit," (paper presented at the 6th International Congress of Psychotherapy, London, 1964).

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., p. 22.

37. Ibid., and supra, p. 4-11f and n.27.
E.g., see John O. Stevens, Awareness: Exploring, Experimenting and Experiencing (Moab, Utah: Real People Press, 1971); and
William C. Schutz, Here Comes Everybody: Bodymind and Encounter Culture, Harrow Books (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1972).

38. Manual, pp. 5, and 6f.
Cf., infra, pp. 79f.

39. See supra, p. 32 and n. 27.

40. See Virginia Satir, Conjoint Family Therapy (Palo Alto: Science and Behavior Books, Inc., 1967, pp. 63-90.

41. See Shirley Gehrke Luthman, Intimacy: The Essence of Male and Female (Los Angeles: Nash Publishing, 1972), pp. 17-33.

42. Manual, pp. 31f; and supra, p. 40, and n. 3.

43. Manual, p. 5; also see Appendix A: "Interview with the Wife," Area XI.
Mrs. "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973: "My children needed most assurance that (their father) was still there."

44. The recontracting of the marriage often took ritual forms some casual, some formalized. The following are some examples.
Richard Paoli, "2 New Groups of POWs Greeted Quietly at Travis," Oakland Tribune, p. 1: "Air Force 1st Lt William Y. Arcuri greets his wife, Andrea, then slips on wedding ring he had been required to leave in Guam before his last mission. She had worn it on a string around her neck ever since."
"POW Poets Wrote of Love, Home and Mice," Los Angeles Times, Mar. 30, 1973, part 1-A, p. 3: "Air Force Capt. Ralph (Tom) Browning

. . . wrote a poem to his wife Ann upon learning of the cease-fire: ' . . . Love's flame burns brighter than ever before/ I pledge you my love evermore.'"
"20 POWs Land at Travis Today," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 17, 1973, p. 1: "(Air Force Maj. Norman) McDaniels told reporters he plans to have a marriage rededication ceremony with his wife when he gets home."
"POW, Wife Say Vows 2nd Time," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 22, 1973, p. 12F: Army Capt. Johnnie Ray's wife "bought a new white wedding dress for it, said Army Chaplain Robert Howerton . . . . "
"2251 Days," K.Q.E.D. (San Francisco) telecast, Sept. 21, 1973: Navy Cdr Richard Stratton and Mrs. Stratton are shown during the rehearsing of their marriage vows again before a priest in their home.
"She Halts Move to Divorce POW," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 13, 1973, p. E-3: concerning Navy Cdr Raymond Vohden (POW more than 8 years) and his wife who had gone to the North Vietnamese delegation to the Paris peace talks to seekher husband's release.
Several Returnee's married fiancee's who awaited their return, see infra, p. 72 and n. 29.

45. See supra, n. 30.

46. Satir, Conjoint Family Therapy, pp. 2, 60f: Here the "I.P." refers to one of the children of the family. The concept is used in a broader sense to include the father as a possible "I.P." in the Manual, p. 22.

47. Manual, p. 24; and supra, pp. 51f and n. 30.
See infra, pp. 79-81.

48. Infra, p. 80.

49. Manual, p. 23; also see infra, 123 and n. 47.
Satir, Conjoint Family Therapy, pp. 181ff.

50. Manual, p. 29ff; and supra, pp. 51f and n. 29.

51. Coping patterns of wives of deployed military husbands were the subject of a study conducted at Walter Reed General (Army) Hospital: Stanley A. Fagen, et al., "Impact of Father Absence in Military Families: II. Factors Relating to Success of Coping with Crisis" Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Medical Research and Development Command, Office of the Surgeon General, 1967 (Mimeographed.)
Hall and Simmons, "The POW Wife," Archives of General Psychiatry, 690-694.
Jane Whitbread, "How Servicemen's Marriages Survive Separation," Redbook, April, 1969, pp. 94, 146 ff.
Kenneth Barringer, "Focus--The Single Parent," Christian Home, November, 1972, p. 37.

52. Evan McLeod Wylie, "At Least I Know Jim Is Alive," Good Housekeeping,

February, 1970, pp. 78f, 215-220.
John J. Fried, "Waiting Out the War--Wife or Widow?" Life, Nov. 7, 1969, pp. 75-78.
Mrs. "E," conjoint interview, Apr. 23, 1973: "The children kept bringing things back into the perspective. that we get on with the business of living. We have "our thing" to do to maintain normalcy, so that I could have normalcy for him to return to."
Karen Thorsen, "A Campaign to Get a Husband Home," Life, Sept. 29, 1972, p. 38.
Mrs. Kushner, wife of Army Capt. Howard Kushner (Medical Corps) was quoted as saying: "I answer all the questions, but I don't try that hard to remind my children of their father. I refuse to say 'Okay, sit down, here's lecture No. 72 about Daddy,' or 'Don't forget to kiss Daddy's picture goodnight.' He comes up naturally in our conversation, frequently, but not daily. It's quite simple: the family is incomplete without him."
Cf., supra, p. 51 and n.s 12 and 13, wherein keeping alive the image of the absent one has become a preoccupation or even a symptom of neurosis.

53. Supra, pp. 51-52 and n. 29. The wife's quotations in the Manual, p. 30f are from Pat Leisner, "POW Wife Retires as Head of Family," Oakland Tribune, May 6, 1973, p. 5-S: concerning Air Force Maj. and Mrs. Glendon Perkins.
Observations made in the Manual, pp. 30, 32f are largely from two years of ministry to POW/MIA wives in the East Bay Area while serving as a Chaplain at the Naval Air Station, Alameda, Calif. See supra, p. 11.
Charlotte Saikowski, "How Fare the Ex-POW's?" Oakland Tribune, Nov. 14, 1973, p. 18-A: " . . . the wives had grown enormously independent. Although only 33 per cent of the wives interviewed (by the Center for Prisoner of War Studies) actually worked while their husbands were overseas, the sheer effort of coping alone gave them a new-found self assurance. . . . she was thrust into the role of being mother and father, she became isolated and lost her social standing (in military circles). She became active in the league and found herself doing things she was not accustomed to, calling on governors and generals. 'By the time her hubby returned, she was an emancipated woman,' (says Mrs. Iris Powers, chairman of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia)."
Manual, p. 33, indicates that courses of study with therapeutic value to wives were often sought by them in the husband's absence. This implies a need for therapeutic assistance.
Hall and Simmons, "The POW Wife," p. 693: "Our study indicates that the POW's family is often in need of psychiatric help, but that such help is reluctantly offered by the primary physician and seems to have a significant stigma attached to it."
Cf. supra, p. 14 and n. 7.

54. Supra, n. 53; observations made at N.A.S., Alameda.

Also, e.g., "A Celebration of Men Redeemed," Time, Feb. 19, 1973, p. 16: "(Navy Capt. James Bond Stockdale's) wife Sybil, mother of their four sons, became a founder and national coordinator of the National League of Families of P.O.W.s/M.I.A.s."
Kathryn Johnson, "POW Finds his Appetite," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 22, 1973: Phyllis Galanti (wife of Navy Cdr Paul Galanti), "chairman of the board of the League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, said her husband has shown interest in women's lib . . . . her husband apparently had seen a picture of her taken either in Sweden or in Paris on one of her trips on behalf of the prisoners."
Thorsen, "Campaign," Life, pp. 32-42.

55. Manual, p. 30.

56. Manual, p. 32 (quotation from Lt "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973).
Hall and Simmons, "The POW Wife," p. 690: "Although our sample is small, these data derived closely parallel that obtained by the Center for Prisoner of War Studies in a nation-wide survey . . . The patients we report are the wives of career military personnel; six of the 11 husbands volunteered for Vietnam assignment."
Cf., Manual, pp. 36f.

57. Manual, 37-40; infra, pp. 71f.

58. Infra, p. 72 and n. 25.

59. Manual, p. 33; U.S. Air Force, film, "Psychological Aspects of Captivity" (cited supra, p. 17, n. 18) used at pre-Homecoming briefings of POW next of kin.
Lt "A," interview, Apr. 15, 1972: describing his tour of the country and addresses to groups of POW/MIA wives. "These women were very concerned about what (their husbands) would be like, changes resulting from the separation, much as the men wondered if their wives would want them back."
Sue Toma, "Some POW Wives Are 'Casualties,'" Navy Times, Jan. 23, 1974, p. 19: "Would he be another child she would have to care for? Would he need protection from his children? Would they need protection from him?"
However, in advance of Homecoming, Dr. Orne (also cited supra, p. 17, n. 18) indicated the Returnees need to confront the realities of return and appropriate anger in others without protection.

60. Infra, p. 72 and n. 25.

61. Manual, p. 33f.

62. Ibid., p. 33.

"2251 Days," K.Q.E.D., Sept. 21, 1973: "There Are No Bad Days in the U.S.A.":
Mrs. Stratton (wife of Navy Cdr Richard Stratton) said: "I have learned lessons from this experience. I have been forced to be not dependent upon him any longer, and so have become independent in a healthier way; so that now the relationship can be on an even stronger basis of an independent, independent, two people together."

63. Manual, p. 34.

64. E.g., Pat Leisner, "POW Wife Retires as Head of Family," Oakland Tribune, May 6, 1973, p. 5-S: "Mrs. Perkins (wife of Air Force Major Glendon Perkins) said in an interview, "He's a lot more tolerant for the experience and I'm less impulsive . . . . And there is nothing more gratifying than Glen's willingness to listen to what I have to say, to be treated as though I have something equally important to add."
Cf., "'He took all the money back and asked me how much I wanted. The month before I had it all.' Glen paid the bills, she said. 'Then he told me, 'I know you needed those things, but I'm home now.'"
Also, "2251 Days," K.Q.E.D., Sept. 21, 1973: "There Are No Bad Days in the U.S.A."
Mrs. Stratton: "What I'm finding is that he is the same as he always was, and it's exciting to get to see that again. Though one of my fears has been that maybe he would be different. And he's not only not different, but he's better. For there's almost a serenity because he seems to be like at peace with himself and the world."
Cdr Stratton: "You don't know how hard I'm trying to come on soft; and everybody tells me, 'For God's sake, you're comin' on . . . so strong. Six years of imprisonment and isolation is showing, that it's coming out all over the place."
Mrs. Stratton: "He definitely is more tolerant of his fellow men and their differences. I am very much aware of this. I think he had that before he left, but its greater now . . . . If someone disagreed with him, he was able to prove his point well, but I'd come away with a very uncomfortable feeling, like he beat down the guy, you know. Now he can accept all viewpoints. Now, he won't agree with them; but he doesn't have to jam his down anybody's throat."
A brief debate with the interviewer that followed (in regard to the Watergate scandal) was dominated by the Returnee through vocal forcefulness and by the effective use of humor. The opposition was silenced, and the subject was changed.

65. Manual, p. 34.

66. Roy R. Grinker and John P. Spiegel, Men under Stress (Philadelphia: Blakiston, 1945), pp. 181-207.
Jonathan F. Borus, "Reentry: I. Adjustment Issues Facing the Vietnam Returnee," Archives of General Psychiatry, XXVIII (April, 1973), 503f: issues in family reintegration for

returnees from combat tours were discussed as being denial of absence and change, control of reunion feelings, fear of disappointment or rejection, facing a restructured family system, facing anger for being absent, and conflicting demands between home and career.

Carlson, "The POWs Now," Evening Tribune (San Diego), p. A-3: Reintegration problems listed by the Center for POW Studies were decisions on finances, renegotiating the position of head of household, disciplining of children, and conflict between the demands of home and the obligations of POW Returnee role obligations. Parent-child adjustments "'turned out not to be a big problem but an enjoyable experience in most cases,' (Dr. Hamilton I.) McCubbin said."

Interviews in April, 1973 revealed some minor irritations regarding responsibility for household jobs, cautious re-acquaintance with children, and anger over absence in the case of one wife (supra, n. 30), and one child (supra, n. 6: Mrs. "E"). The euphoria of return was still a factor, and the interviewing had to be restricted to that early period (see supra, p. 18).

Stewart L. Baker, et al., "Impact of Father Absence: III. Problems of Family Reintegration following Prolonged Father Absence," (paper presented at the 45th Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, Chicago, Illinois, Mar. 20-23, 1968).

67. The following is a sampling of some of the writings that both affect and reflect the changing family structure:

Harvey Cox, The Secular City (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969), especially pp. 33-47, 145-150, 167-189;

Alvin Toffler, Future Shock,Bantam Books (New York: Random House, Inc., 1971), especially pp. 238-259, 293f;

Carl R. Rogers, Becoming Partners: Marriage and its Alternatives (New York: Delacorte Press, 1972);

Nena O'Neill and George O'Neill, Open Marriage: A New Life Style for Couples (New York: M. Evans and Company, Inc., 1972);

Kate Millett, Sexual Politics (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1970);

Germaine Greer, The Female Eunuch, Bantam Books (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1971);

Marie Claude Wrenn, "Women Arise," Life, Sept. 4, 1970, pp. 16B-23.

"Dropout Wife," Life, Mar. 17, 1972, pp. 34B-41, 44.

68. E.g., Whitbread, "Servicemen's Marriages," Redbook, p. 146: how a service wife coped with in-law tensions while her husband was deployed, and her decisions which were finalized before his return.

69. Lt "A," interview, Apr. 15, 1972: Addresses to POW/MIA wives' groups (see supra, n. 59) were confronted with questions revealing fears that they would be changed sexually by the captivity and separation experience. His typical response

brought laughter and noticeable relief: "I'm as good as I ever was!"

Martin T. Orne, comments to National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, Washington, D.C., Sept. 27, 1971. (Mimeographed). P. 10: "The odds of anybody becoming homosexual who has not been homosexual before due to a present situation are just about nil. It is one set of concerns you need not have. It just doesn't happen. I do not know of a single instance of the PW returning who was hetereosexual before who came back homosexual." P. 11: "By the same token, the fears some of you may have about impotence resulting from prolonged incarceration is unrealistic entirely. Now that is again not a consequence of incarceration. Anybody who had a satisfactory sexual relationship before this kind of experience will on release as soon as the immediate emotional pressures are over, inevitably be able to resolve that and reestablish a normal sexual relationship again."

Lt "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973: indicated daydreams of the POW normally included sex (cf., supra, p. 84 and n. 142).

"7 A.M. News," K.F.M.B. (San Diego) telecast, Nov. 6, 1973: Mr. Jean Pasqualini (Bao Jua Wang), indicated that during 7 years as a prisoner in a Chinese prison labor camp he had no sexual impulses. He said: "When you are hungry, very very hungry, you think only about food . . . ."

Cf., V. A. Kral, "Psychiatric Observations under Severe Chronic Stress," American Journal of Psychiatry, CVIII (September, 1951), p. 187: "The sexual drive and interest (of World War II concentration camp prisoners in Europe) became more and more reduced with lengthened stay in the camp, particularly among the hard-working men and women. Nevertheless it was not completely missing. Some pregnancies even occured . . . . "

70. "The Dick Cavett Show," A.B.C. telecast, Apr. 18, 1973: In the interview with a panel of Returnees, Navy Cdr. John H. Fellowes made the statement quoted in the Manual, p. 25. He was possibly referring to the comments of Dr. Orne (see supra, n. 69). The possibility of compensation in such remarks or demonstrations is mentioned infra, p. 77 and n. 78.
Cf., Thorsen, "A Campaign," Life, p. 42: "Of course I know perfectly well that all of my activity is a substitute for sex."

71. See Rustum Roy and Della Roy, Honest Sex, Signet Books (New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1969), pp. 59-66.

72. Manual, pp. 25f.

73. Observations from experiences in pastoral care as a Navy Chaplain.

74. E.g., Chaplain "M," interview, Apr. 2, 1973: "One son of a Returnee has become deeply involved in the peace movement in high school. He is unsure that his dad is doing the right thing."
Hall and Simmons, "The POW Wife," 692: "Physical fights over the politics of the war were common among the high school-aged

children. The fights inevitably began when the POW child was told his father deserved to be a POW for bombing innocent civilians, etc."

75. See supra, p. 32 and n. 35.
Cf. supra, p. 51 and n. 28.

76. Manual, p. 26.

77. Satir, Family Therapy, pp. 27-32.
Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, Committee on the Family, Treatment of Families in Conflict: The Clinical Study of Family Process (New York: Science House, 1970), p. 156: "Within the nuclear family . . . husbands and wives usually avoid the Lineal principle, sharing responsibilities and reach decisions by mutual agreement."
The need for united parental guidance is reflected in Urie Bronfenbrenner, Two Worlds of Childhood: U.S. and U.S.S.R. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970) p. 94: " . . . children used to be brought up by their parents."

78. Manual, pp. 26ff. It may be added from Reuben Hill, Families under Stress (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1949) p. 15; " . . . younger children shifted position rarely, but the parent-adolescent relationship in crisis 'was a highly volatile one and subject to great displacement.'"
"The Psychology of Homecoming," Time, Feb. 19, 1973, p. 19: "In many cases, the bond between husband and wife will be easier to restore than that between father and child. P.O.W.s says one psychiatrist, will be coming home not only to children who do not know them but, worse yet, to children who do not like them. According to (Los Angeles Psychiatrist Helen) Tausend, 'Small children may be frightened of their fathers at first, especially of those who are overwhelmingly enthusiastic,' while 'older ones who have idolized their father without knowing him may be disillusioned.'"

79. Thomas L. Trunnell, "The Absent Father's Children's Emotional Disturbances," Archives of General Psychiatry, XIX (August, 1968), 180-188.
Aron Wolfe Siegman, "Father Absence during Early Childhood and Antisocial Behavior," Journal of Abnormal Psychology, LXXI (January, 1966), 71-74.

Baker, et.al, "Father Absence," pp. 14-19.

Stewart L. Baker, et al, "Impact of Father Absence on Personality Factors of Boys: I. An Evaluation of the Military Family's Adjustment" (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., Mar. 21, 1967).

Frank E. Crumley and Ronald S. Blumenthal, "Children's Reactions

to Temporary Loss of the Father," American Journal of Psychiatry, CXXX (July, 1973), 778-782.
Bronfenbrenner, Childhood, pp. 71f and 104.
"2251 Days," K.Q.E.D. (San Francisco) telecast, Sept. 17, 1973: "Feeling the Missing."
Roy W. Fairchild, "Delayed Gratification: a Psychological and Religious Analysis," in Research on Religious Development, A Comprehensive Handbook, ed. by Merton P. Strommen (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1971), p. 188: "Consistently the research points to the absence of the father from the home as associated with the boy's inability to delay gratification . . . . " One element of opposition to the reasons suggested by Dr. Fairchild in the case of the son of the POW (in comparison to the MIA in most cases) would be the more definite hope of his father's return.

80. References listed supra, n. 79, plus the principal resource of E. Mavis Hetherington, "Girls without Fathers," Psychology Today, February, 1973, pp. 46-52.

81. Brij B. Sethi, "Relationship of Separation to Depression," Archives of General Psychiatry, X (May, 1964), 486-496.
Cf. Lindemann, "Acute Grief," pp. 24f: "Delay of Reaction."

82. Manual, p. 26.
See Bronfenbrenner, Childhood, pp. 125-139; and Fairchild, "Delayed Gratification," p. 188.
E.g., Satir, Family Therapy, pp. 97-100.

83. Manual, p. 35.
E.g., "The Psychology of Homecoming," Time, Feb. 19, 1973; p. 19: "U.C.L.A. Psychiatrist Louis West predicts that 'if people had a good sexual relationship before, they will be able to re-establish it quickly--provided the same bond of affection exists. Where the relationship was fragile to begin with, it will be ruptured beyond repair.'"
The correlation between conditions in family life before and after captivity was generally observed in all interviews.

84. Manual, p. 35.

85. E.g., research on children in absent father families, the application of such treatment modes as conjoint family therapy, etc.

86. Mrs. "D," interview, Apr. 23, 1973 (used in the Manual, p. 1, the second quotation).

87. Mrs. "A," interview, April 25, 1973: Her remarks on compassion provided a major resource for the central paragraph, Manual, p. 34.

CHAPTER 7

"IV. POW RETURNEE--THE MAN HIMSELF"

Identity

The approach of the Manual regarding generalities about persons is one of caution.[1] Indeed, the identity of a person--his comprehension of himself as an entity--is determined by the numerous variables of fact, perception, and degree of denial or acceptance by the person. Thus, individuality is the essence of identity.

Three criteria are stated at the beginning of the fourth section of the Manual by which identity was determined in captivity and in repatriation readjustments.[2] These are the man's ego, his physical organism, and his group.[3] Applications of these elements which influence identity are made in regard to the flier and to the ground combat military man vulnerable to captivity.[4]

Helplessness in capture challenged the myth of indomitability and the exercise of free will, and placed a man in isolation with little but himself to study. This represented a radical change in most of the lives effected, and we can assume such to have threatened the ego.[5]

Physical injury involved in some captures, illnesses contracted in prison,[6] injuries from torture and physical limitations to the will to resist under torture,[7] and deprivation of mobility in

incarceration[8] influenced the human organism as a component of personal identity.

Isolation from family,[9] uncertainty of news to and from the homeland,[10] and enforced seclusion from fellow prisoners[11] threatened the captive's concept of himself in relation to his group.

The POW struggled to retain his identity by thoroughly reassessing his view of himself by thoughts of past, present, and future,[12] and in the search for new resources within himself.[13] POWs struggled with a new acceptance of physical limitations,[14] and practiced physical exercise adapted to confinement.[15] POWs established contact with each other through clandestine systems of communications[16] and by the creation of a familiar military organization in their circumstances.[17] Faith in the future,[18] in family,[19] in fellow prisoners,[20] and in one's individual significance with God[21] was a factor that was not widely predicted[22] and yet which proved to be an intangible bridge to human groups and to God.[23]

In these ways, identity was in most cases preserved,[24] and in many cases it seems to have been reinforced[25] in captivity.

Upon return, physical rehabilitation and medical and dental treatment[26] as well as mobility are seen as beneficial to the somatic aspects of identity. Much was held in the balance by the social aspects of identity: career,[27] family[28] or fiancee[29] acceptance or abandonment, and the acceptance by the Returnee of the culture to which he has returned with all of its changes.[30]

Acceptance by the Nation both generally and officially of the POW role as being heroic and honorable in this controversial conflict[31] and the contamination of it as being "less than honorable"

in the official view[32] were social factors that could not help but make an important impact upon the ego of the former prisoner. Returnees claimed that they were desirous of leaving behind the image of being a "professional POW,"[33] and yet the initial message was one for savoring. There is a deep need to debrief, and problems can develop if there is no opportunity to do so--especially with interested loved ones and respected friends such as a Chaplain.[34] A negative message of failure proved lethal at least in one case.[35]

Basic to the ego component of identity is the Returnee's view of himself, his own performance, and the resolution of guilt through self-acceptance and an assimilation of forgiveness.[36] Examples of ways by which the Chaplain can assist the guilt-conflicted Returnee that have social[37] and theological[38] implications are offered in the Manual.

"Mind-bending": Self-Criticism and Political Persuasion

"Mind-bending" is offered as a term in contemporary English for the efforts of the enemy to change the attitudes and reform the minds of their Western prisoners. It is not the purpose of this dissertation to explore exhaustively the complex subject of "brain-washing."[39] Instead, it is accepted as psychological pressures directed at individuals in a calculated effort to manipulate them for the purposes of propaganda, indoctrination and ideological conversion.[40] It is the purpose of the Manual to explore the effects of this phenomenon upon POWs in the Indo-China conflict which may assist Chaplains in a better understanding of these men in their repatriation adjustments.[41]

The premise is made that the isolation from other prisoners,[42] from the homeland,[43] the careful selection of reading material and exposure to only certain American opinions,[44] ranked with guilt reactions to weaken resistance to compromise under interrogation and torture.[45] Confessions were thereby elicited and attempts to provoke thought reform were made. Through making contact with one another, prisoners shared their feelings of guilt, and this provided a substantial means of resistance.[46]

It is important for the Chaplain to recognize residual guilt[47] and such lasting effects of these psychological pressures as may be present.[48] It is crucial that the Chaplain not be mesmerized by the mystique of "brainwashing"; but rather be prepared to help the Returnee through pastoral involvement[49] and the skill of listening and responding[50] work out creatively his remaining concerns[51] and the pursuit of appropriate plans,[52] or by urging referral.

It is important for the Chaplain to understand how the efforts of the enemy at such coercive persuasion were counterproductive to his cause,[53] reinforcing the identity of the POWs for return,[54] deepening their concern for "community" and for all human freedom,[55] enhancing leadership characteristics,[56] and stimulating a new spiritual[57] and patriotic[58] dimension to the lives of captives which the enemy intended to break down. Many of the elements of the Sino-Soviet derived reform program operative in the captivity experience of the Korean conflict were neglected in the Indo-China captivity. Some of these spontaneously occurred and were utilized by POWs to their own ends;[59] thus, such things as autobiographical self-criticism or self-evaluation, sincere personal confession, and the

making of resolutions for life reform,[60] new goals for involvement in social reform, and a stronger ideological foundation for living[61] were voluntarily assumed by POWs and have become for many the subject of plans to be pursued on return.

From the experiences of being exposed to the pressures of thought reform efforts, Returnee's gained a new respect for the power of ideas[62] and of the spoken word.[63] The Chaplain is also invited to observe a uniformity of expression[64] among Returnees as a possible residual effect of the experience, which would have been a goal of the Communists in reorienting the POWs had it been oriented to their ideology rather than in reaction to it.

It may be said then that the enemy provided the atmosphere in which self-criticism and political reform of prisoners could take place; but lacking some elements of the total program as it was developed in history,[65] effects opposite to the goals of the Communists were achieved. For example, there was an unmitigated recourse to the use of physical torture without unpredictable changes in climate to sympathetic approaches.[66] There was an emphasis upon the confession of "war crimes," but there lacked a monitored and directed effort toward the self-criticism of personal life-style linked to ideological roots and political conversion.[67]

Dehumanized men reacted to become more human, humiliated men achieved a new dignity, disorganizing attempts unified group ties, and spiritual and patriotic qualities which were to have been shaken and then changed became deepened and solidified.

The ethical use of the behavioral sciences is to inform and yet to free each man to find his own growth and maturity. The opposite

is seen where such resources are used to manipulate men into an acceptance of an ideology or life-style that is deemed right for him by an external authority without recourse to his reason or free choice. This ethical issue is of major importance for humanity. The methods of manipulation used by Communist interrogators can be identified also in some evangelistic religious efforts.[68] The goal that religion serve to free men is thereby called to review; and the aims of human liberation establish guidelines for the continual evaluation of religious education in general and the Chaplains ministry to the Returnee in particular.[69]

If the chosen doctrine of man dictates that man is depraved, a liberating approach dare not be employed that would grant man freedom unless there is also a strong faith in the redemptive intervention of an even stronger righteous and saving power. The alternate to such a confidence as a prerequisite to liberation would be a humanistic faith in the basic goodness of man. Either doctrine would make room for the "growth model"[70] which assumes that man struggles to find an ever developing maturity once those blocks which conflict that freedom are resolved.[71] This faith in man's ability to use freedom[72] is the basic distinction between the democratic and the authoritarian or totalitarian orientation which, in turn, is basic to the "brainwashing" controversy in human history.

Initiative and "Survivor Syndrome"

Initiative among the POWs was evidently reinforced in many as a reaction to physical torture, which rendered it counterproductive to the enemy and his purposes.[73] The high level of education, develop-

ments in survival training, and the concepts embodied in the Code of Conduct are some of the internal assets that have been documented as beneficial to the POWs,[74] as well as the resources of religious background discussed in the last section of the Manual.

The high initiative-level revealed through the interviews and attested by the news media after the release[75] either proves an absence of low self-esteem that has been characteristic of post-captivity life following past prolonged POW histories[76] (called "Survivor Syndrome" with identifiable symptomatology[77]), or it represents a compensation for this in some degree.[78]

Differences in conditions of captivity in North Viet Nam and elsewhere in Indo-China are important in assessing the degree of "Survivor Syndrome" operative in the Returnees. The establishment of even crude communications and attempts to express community support for individual POWs in the North defended against conditions which foster this syndrome.[79] Prisoners saw their enemy as "childish"[80] and chided each other to defend against regression.[81] Where such support could not be offered, regression was more likely to take place; and vivid descriptions of such were related by survivors of isolated Viet Cong captivity.[82] "The state of regression was the last line of defense and . . . a protective mechanism . . . "[83] when maturity offered no survival value.[84]

Another theory that holds that "Survivor Syndrome" is the result of physiological discrepancies needs to be considered.[85] The meager diet in North Viet Nam was evidently still sufficient to diminish the likelihood of organic brain damage, while conditions with the Viet Cong and elsewhere in Indo-China were less standardized

and deprivation was obviously greater.[86] Physical abuse in North Viet Nam came to the attention of world opinion which caused the imposition of later constraints,[87] and methods of torture were devised which would not leave marks that could not be hidden from view.[88] This undoubtedly reduced the likelihood of brain damage through trauma in torture. An additional theory links "Survivor Syndrome" to "the feeling of guilt of many survivors over the very fact that they have remained alive when so many others have died, regardless of their own individual behavior."[89] There is a feeling that one "has no right to be alive since (others close to him) perished."[90] The person so conflicted "appears to be constantly at the verge of mourning, (while) true and full mourning, being too painful, is warded off by sustaining regression as a defense."[91] In spite of many similarities, a distinction is made between the influence of a prolonged stress experience and that of sudden trauma of short duration.[92] This distinction could be associated, where it is present, with the need to call attention to injustices one has suffered--"since to get well would amount to forgiving (one's) persecutors."[93]

Interviews with all Returnees from North Viet Nam revealed that the very ill were removed from cell groups and were isolated from other prisoners to meet alone what is believed to have been their deaths,[94] whereas this was not the case generally in captivity elsewhere in Indo-China.[95] Those interviewed admitted no preoccupation with the deaths of other prisoners, and no bitterness toward the enemy.[96] Further, public knowledge of the maltreatment of prisoners which resulted from the efforts of the various

POW/MIA concern groups and later through the press conferences given by the Returnees themselves, reduced the need to continue the effort of retaliation through masochistic processes connected with "Survivor Syndrome" (as occurred in the case of World War II civilian prisoners of the Germans whose plight was not so thoroughly revealed).[97]

On the basis of these findings, the decision was made to deal with the phenomenon of "Survivor Syndrome" in the Manual indirectly through comments on initiative in the POWs and Returnees, rather than providing a special section on the problem. Had the Manual been prepared for the Army Chaplain Corps where a larger portion of the Returnee population may have come from places other than Hanoi, this decision would have been handled differently in the development of the Manual.

Debriefing as a Process

"The human is the only mammal that repeats trauma in order to master it. This explains the compulsion to recreate those unresolved conflicts and feelings in dealings with people and situations in the present."[98] These feelings have an effect upon behavior, because the individual unconsciously tends to place himself in situations in which he can attempt to bring such feelings to a resolution.[99]

The Manual identifies the phenomena whereby inappropriate feelings tend to distort inter-personal transactions where they may be a link to past behavior manifested with enemy interrogators and guards.[100] Examples observed in marital conflict[101] and in the pastoral or counselor relationship with the Chaplain[102] or with him

as a representative of ecclesiastical authority[103] are noted. The possibility of such distortions existing in relationships involving career or military authority were projected in the Manual before Returnees had returned to duty or had retired to civilian employment.[104]

Feelings familiar from captivity experiences of fear[105] or humiliation[106] encountered in life situations upon return, could yield a variety of identifiable reactions. Among the various manifestations of behavior which may persist due to such distortions are defiance,[107] repression of rage or fear through denial[108] or intellectualization;[109] also such reactions as putting down the opposition by miscasting its representative as "child-like,"[110] or by responding with silence[111] or distracting conversation.[112] The Returnee's stance could be one of judgmental rigidity in social groups, marriage or in parenting.[113] All of the above, it is suggested, result from the Returnee unconsciously putting himself back into the former captivity situation in order to attempt to "work it through."

Should the Chaplain suspect that these defenses are interfering with relationships, he is urged to encourage the parties to the relationships to explore these distortions.[114] The importance of being able to talk about his captivity is not to be underestimated for the man himself.[115] Military debriefs helped the armed services, and there is therapeutic value in knowing that one's experiences may aid in preventing or easing trauma for others.[116] But an alternative to verbally rehearsing unresolved stress situations, feelings and conflicts can be a repression of them that can compound to an unhealthy and even pathological involvement.[117]

The Viet Nam veteran was too often limited to his own group--those who had experienced similar operational situations--for the sharing of such stories.[118] From their company he was swiftly transfered or discharged. He saw outsiders, with varying degrees of accuracy, as disinterested or incapable of believing; and the therapeutic technique of allowing the person to relive emotionally the former trauma (abreaction) has been neglected in the psychological treatment of the veteran of this conflict.[119] Many relatives struggle with their own ability to accept this reliving of trauma through "war stories," and encourage the veteran to suppress them.[120] The POW Returnee stands in the unique position of a returning hero who has become the focal point of that part of the American mind that can laud the participant even if the acceptance of the armed conflict in which he was involved remains unresolved.[121] His stories of stress have been welcomed upon return, and this welcoming audience provides him with the chance to recall his trauma publicly as well as privately. He offers the American people the long awaited opportunity to identify a cruel enemy against whom warfare was justified. This desire of the population to resolve social guilt has placed the Returnee in a position of having to debrief in some cases more and longer than he wanted, of being the identified "hero" of Viet Nam, and it confronts us all with the unique dilemma that the hero of this war was the one who got caught.

Daydreaming and Fantasy

Conscious fantasy behavior was admitted by Returnees as having great importance to them during captivity. In order to deal with the subject and to search for implications of this behavior for

the Returnee, fantasy, daydream and the relationship of these to planning and problem solving had to be explored.

Fantasy "is primarily a mental activity, not a gross motor behavior, and is therefore necessarily covert."[122] Daydreaming "is used to mean a shift of attention away from an on-going physical or mental task or from a perceptual response to external stimulation towards a response to some internal stimulus."[123] "Fantasy reflect(s) current focal concerns of the individual . . . (and) in some measure (permits the advance of) the process of problem-solving."[124] But fantasy is normally spontaneous and problem-solving thought seems to serve a different function, planning being incidental and not the direct and conscious goal.[125]

Daydreaming kept hopes alive, provided pleasure and positive feelings in a very negative and immobile existence.[126] Skills were explored in fantasy, inventions were devised, houses were planned, careers were considered,[127] and interpersonal relationships were studied.[128]

Heroic or omnipotent characterizations were commonly pictured in daydreaming.[129] Although such were usually closely identified with the dreamer or his aspirations, they were nonetheless separated from him for the most part; and thus daydreams were not to be mistaken for reality. For example: "If I were . . . a millionaire."[130] Emotional relief from stressful or boring experiences of captivity[131] could then be had in the structure of daydream--which was at the same time a safeguard against hallucination and a means of preserving one's perception of reality and thus one's sanity.[132] However, this required self-discipline to keep the process within the boundaries of

daydreaming.[133]

Daydreaming can be as well a guardian against forces destructive to the ego; because introspection is narcissistic, and its planning dimension enhances achievement motivation.[134] Penetration of the reveries of the past or of the dreams of the future with "theoretical thought or future planning constantly call(s) for volitional effort."[135] Evidence of this effort is to be observed in the daydreaming patterns of the POWs in Indo-China.[136] Even the creation of a story in the thought processes requires both originality and organization; and from fantasy can come impetus for future accomplishment. Dreams that possess a planning dimension can usually be associated with at least some degree of ability in the dreamer,[137] but the testing of such plans always involves the risk of proving that degree of ability to be far less than the imagined ideal.[138] The process of completing the dream Gestalt may come only with reality testing, however; and pastoral companionship and initiative is thus invited into this area after repatriation when the person may again find himself in a search for identity, and when he may be seeking an appropriate direction for his life energies.[139]

During solitary confinement or long months of redundant routine, daydreaming provided a source of compensation both for the sensory deprivation and for the lack of varied experience.[140] The acceptance of this experience of self-awareness and practice in introspection provided a "cushion effect" by which the thought-processes could deal with ideas that were new, strange or even unacceptable theretofore. "One might hypothesize that a person less familiar with the variegated combinations and fluid associations of

his on-going thought stream might be more suggestible under various quasi-hypnotic situations or under 'brainwashing conditions.'"[141]

Absent from Returnees' stories of daydreaming in the interviews and the media were two areas that might have been expected according to the literature in this area of study. Neither fantasies involving sexual material[142] nor violent aggression against the enemy were present.[143]

It can be conjectured that in the semi-permissive structure of the interviewing procedures selected for this research[144] that the element of embarrassment or shame (associated with childhood)[145] precluded voluntary revelation of such personally sensative material as sexually arousing fantasies.

The avoidance of conscious fantasy of violent retribution upon the enemy, however, would seem to be more genuinely representative of the situation. POWs were commonly self-disciplined to restrain from open defiance in order to avoid needless suffering.[146] Under their isolated and primitive "laboratory conditions" it might be conjectured that if there were some cathartic or drive reduction effect in the exercise of fantasy (Freud's theory[147]), that there would have been commonly reported reprisal-directed daydreams.[148] The avoidance of such under these circumstances could be an indication that they were selected out as unwanted secondary reinforcers of behavior which the POWs were struggling to unlearn.[149] This would support Singer's suspicions that fantasies of violence can stimulate aggression;[150] or at the very least this would support Eric Klinger's conclusions, as follows:

> "Fantasy is incapable of reducing drives as such; but because of its content-cycling character, fantasy can prevent or reverse the build-up of anger and can diminish anticipatory anxiety about unavoidable pain better than activities that continually cue off anger and anxiety."[151]

Finances: Impulsiveness versus Sincerity

Money is symbolic of both the means by which it is acquired and that by which it is spent.[152] In the life of the Returnee, accumulated income upon repatriation speaks of the accumulation of life[153] that was contained and now is free to find expression. The benefits[154] that were offered to the Returnee speak of the recognition, gratitude and perhaps guilt of the nation. An abundance of financial resources presents a test of the Returnee's impulse control as well as that of his dependents.[155] It offers an opportunity for the fulfillment of some of the plans made during captivity,[156] and it can express self-acceptance or an identity problem.[157]

In assessing the degree of impulsiveness, a precaution is suggested for the Chaplain. The Returnee's life-style should not be assessed without recourse to comparisons with the patterns normal for him before captivity.[158] Spending[159] and driving habits[160] are offered as symptomatic of control versus recklessness, and thus as indicators of possible problems which might have to be addressed through confrontation[161] as a means of preventing crises in advance.

Gifts are seen by the Author as indicative of either the sacramental offering of life[162] or as lavish and inappropriate means of purchasing a relationship.[163] The former is observed in

the norm of simple yet sincere gifts from Returnees.[164] The latter is seen as a possible sign that the Returnee has not found satisfaction upon return, and of the need for the Chaplain's pastoral concern and personal friendship.[165]

Should the Chaplain be approached for financial or investment advice, he is advised to assess his limitations and to exercise responsible referral procedures,[166] as he should in cases where other professional resources may be needed by the Returnees and their family members.[167] Should the Chaplain be asked to be the custodian of a philanthropic gift or benevolence from a Returnee, he is advised not to let that stand in the way of his pastoral obligation to the donor to assess whether or not the Returnee's needs were being fulfilled by the gift,[168] and that it is not instead a projection of problems that would remain unsolved or become intensified by the giving.[169]

New Goals

The struggle for survival and the months and years of pursuing the goal of freedom ended for Returnees with "Operation Homecoming." The long period of planning and anticipation of reunion ended simultaneously for the family members of the POWs. The very loss of the struggle for the old goals[170] (as well as some little recognized positive aspects of the experience[171]) confronts all involved with the need for new goals. In the shock of return, there is a danger that well laid plans and dreams[172] may seem too forbidding to stand the tests of reality,[173], or that there might not have been plans made in fantasy that could be related to the reality

of return.[174]

The relief of release and return and the fulfillment of such an all-consuming goal as freedom may present those who struggled so long to achieve these things a vacuum that needs to be dealt with.[175] Much the same thing happens when the loss of a loved one that has required months or years of nursing may present the caring survivor with a grief-free loss of the person[176] yet with a grieving related to the loss of being needed to fulfill the demands of the chronically infirm.[177] Another example might be found in an astronaut who yearned for a lifetime to reach the moon, and once having achieved the greatest goal he could imagine, he found himself without an aim significant in his own eyes, and therefore in desperation.[178] The shock of reaching a long hoped for retirement confronts many a working person with a similar crisis.[179]

The Chaplain is urged to reawaken old resources of faith,[180] fantasy,[181] and impulse control[182] which preserved self-worth and identity[183] during captivity and separation, and to encourage the application of these in the search for new goals,[184] the testing of old ones,[185] and to give new direction to the "will to freedom"[186] upon return. The Manual suggests to the Chaplain that this may not be as easy for the participants in the transition of return as it may seem, and the Chaplain is urged to be alert to help in an area which may be popularly ignored.

Humor

The careless use of humor by the Chaplain could disqualify him as a resource to the Returnee.[187] Discussions about prison life

could contain clues which might help the Chaplain better understand the former POW.[188] This is because even though entertainment through humor became an element in cell-groups,[189] the use of humor as an instrument of retaliation[190] or as a factor in the development of solidarity[191] through mutually imposed discipline of the emotions and behavior[192] may have important residual effects in the life of Returnees.[193]

Central to the dynamics of such uses of humor is that it can be an instrument of humiliating the other party to the exchange[194] either for the purpose of bolstering the prankster (as in dealings with the enemy),[195] or as a means of stimulating the one ridiculed to react so as to be alert to his vulnerable emotions or behavior[196] and to put up his defenses.[197] Humor has the further advantage of covering unaccepted behavior, such as retaliation against an enemy guard or that of humiliating a fellow prisoner, with a mask of acceptability.[198]

Respect Structure

The importance to a person's identity of defining his place in his group is asserted at the beginning of this chapter.[199] The POWs recreated the military organizational structure familiar to them and which proved to be instrumental in their corporate survival;[200] but the fact remains, there was another set of guidelines by which the men determined the status of each in relation to the others, and by which each man defined his position in the group.

An index based upon the length of time and the greater severity of the earliest treatment is offered as reflective of the perceptions

of the Returnees themselves,[201] and which uses the structure of military campaign periods[202] which will be readily understood by the Navy Chaplain reader of the Manual. Between the first captures and the large releases related to "Operation Homecoming," three dates were seen by the Returnees[203] as pivot points in their captivity experience: the Hanoi March,[204] the death of Ho Chi Minh,[205] and the raid on the Son Tay prison compound.[206] Those dates seem to mark radical changes in prisoner treatment,[207] thus suggesting steps by which measurement of the degree of sacrifice required might be simplified for purposes of understanding and acknowledgment.

Most early Returnees fall outside the "respect structure" not only because they were not there in one or more of the later periods, but also because of the feelings of the "POW Brotherhood."[208] The need for pastoral care is obvious in this area,[209] even though an appeal for reconciliation may not be heard by the other Returnees.[210]

It may be speculated that the rank structure overlay upon the prison longevity structure suggested may have been in conflict from time to time in the lives of individual POWs in captivity. The traditional military organization was not looked upon favorably by all POWs, and this had an effect upon coping in captivity.[211] It would be well for the Chaplain to be alert to such possible conflicts in the way the Returnees see themselves and are perceived upon return when it differs from the basic rank structure.[212] This observation could be important in establishing rapport with individual Returnees and their families,[213] in spite of the fact that they have commonly expressed the desire to avoid the POW role and to get on with career and life as it is normally structured.[214] It is also

beneficial for the Chaplain to be aware that Returnees have differing attitudes toward the rank structured military organization that developed in prison. This was not revealed in the interviews even though it was probed.[215] More complete information became available after the Manual was presented, and thus the Manual does not present the military infra-structure in a controversial light.[216]

DOCUMENTATION

1. Manual, p. 36; supra, pp. 2f.

2. Manual, p. 36.

3. Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1963), p. 43: (given in reverse order). These three aspects are similarly discussed elsewhere by Erikson, and are expanded in Erik H, Erikson, Identity and the Life Cycle, Psychological Issues, Vol. I, No. 1, Monograph 1 (New York: International University Press, Inc., 1959).

4. Manual, pp. 36ff.

5. See Roger F. Reinhardt, "The Flier who Fails: An Adult Situational Reaction," American Journal of Psychiatry, CXXIV (December, 1967), 740-744.
Manual, p. 37: Military life-style precludes much introspection previous to capture.

Also Lt "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973 (quoted in the Manual, p. 32).
Robert Jay Lifton, Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism, The Norton Library (W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963), p. 67: " . . . no longer the adult and yet not the child, instead an adult human was placed in the position of an infant or a sub-human animal, helplessly being manipulated by larger and stronger "adults" or "trainers." Placed in this regressive stance, each felt himself deprived of the power, mastery, and selfhood of adult existence." (Cf. infra, p. 77 and n. s 81-84.)

6. "POWs of Viet War Snap Back," Oakland Tribune, Nov. 13, 1973, p. 26: "There will be lasting physical effects for some, . . . damage . . . suffered by air crewmen who ejected from their planes and made bad parachute landings."
"Deaths of U.S. Airmen," Oakland Tribune, Apr. 2, 1973, p. 2: "(Air Force Col. James H.) Kasler said he believes three seriously ill men died of willful neglect."
"POWs Say they 'Talked,'" San Francisco Chronicle, Apr. 2, 1973, p. 8: "(Army Maj. William H.) Hardy, who was held by the Viet Cong . . . said . . . that other prisoners with him were killed by starvation and overwork . . . . "
"Ordeal: POWs Speak," C.B.S. telecast, Mar. 29, 1973.

7. "And Now a Darker Story," Time, Mar. 5, 1973, p. 14: "Prisoners were hung upside down from beams until they were ready to talk, made to stand for hours without being allowed to move, and forced to crawl through latrines filled with human excrement. They were beaten with clubs and rifle butts,"
"Deaths of U.S. Air Men" Oakland Tribune, Apr. 2, 1973: "Kasler said that 12 to 15 POWs who were taken into interrogation 'never reappeared.'"

"POWs Say they 'Talked,'" San Francisco Chronicle, Apr. 2, 1973: "'I don't know of anyone who said, "I will not give you any military information or participate in propaganda activities," 'said Air Force Colonel Norman Gattis . . . . "
Mitchell Thomas, "The POWs Finally Talk--'I Have Been Tortured,'" San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 30, 1973, p. 28: Navy Cdr. Richard Stratton said: "The low point (in his captivity) was the realization that I could be broken by the enemy."
"Returning POWs Doubt their Toughness Now," Independent-Journal (San Rafael, Calif.), Apr. 7, 1973, p. 2.
Navy Capt Charles R. Gillespie, address, Oct. 31, 1973: "(Under torture) I thought I had flunked the course due to my own personal physical weakness."

8. E.g., "POWs Reveal Torture by Red Jailers," Oakland Tribune, Mar. 29, 1973, p. 1: "(Navy Capt James A. Mulligan, Jr.) said he spent 42 months in isolation." " . . . Mulligan said men spent long periods of time in stocks, shackles and leg irons; were beaten or tied with ropes; and that men in solitary were placed in tiny rooms in which windows were bricked up."
Howard Rutledge and Phyllis Rutledge, In the Presence of Mine Enemies, (Old Tappan, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1973), pp. 48f: "Inside each cell block (of the 'Las Vegas' section of the Hoa Lo prison complex) was an assortment of cells ranging from 4-man units in a 9 x 9 foot space, to 2-men units in a 4 x 8 foot space, and in the Mint the smallest cells I had ever seen--total space 3 feet wide and just over 6 feet long. A hardwood bed on one wall left less than a 1 x 6 foot space to walk and exercise in. At the foot of every bed in Las Vegas was a set of stocks to shackle an offending prisoner to his slab,"

9. Manual, p. 37.
"A.M. Show," K.G.O. (San Francisco) telecast, Apr. 4, 1973: Moderator, Jim Dunbar. Returnee Air Force Capt William Butler, being interviewed, said: "At first when I was captured (Nov. 1967), only a few men were allowed to write and receive mail, even less receive. I was not one of these. In 1969, Christmas time, they allowed me to start corresponding once a month . . . . very little of it did (get there). In August of 1970 I started to receive mail, and I had a total of 20 pieces . . . when I was released (Mar. 1973). . . . If you would not follow the censor, they just wouldn't send the letters out."

10. Manual, p. 39f; also see infra, p. 74 and n.s 43, 44, 45.
Lcdr "A," interview, Apr. 15, 1972: "All we had to do was sit in our cells and listen to Radio Hanoi. They gave

only selected newspaper clippings from the States. The anti-war statements by the Kennedys, Fullbright, and the New York Times. . . . books by David Dillinger and Felix Greene, on life in the Soviet Union and Romania . . . and statements by other prisoners." Interview, Apr. 25, 1973, added Sen. McGovern's name to this list.

"The Longest Chapter," All Hands, October, 1973, p. 28: Lcdr George Coker said: "We didn't have that much news from the outside--we only got bad news from the propaganda radio. When they were badmouthing politics, that meant you could pick up a little bit of news."

Petty Officer "G," interview, Sept. 21, 1972 (Manual, p. 42): "I memorized 300 names of prisoners in rhyme form in order to get news back home that they were alive."

Manual, p. 37.

11. Supra, ch. 5.

12. Manual, pp. 38, 46f; infra, p. 83.

All interviews--see Appendix A: "Interview with the Returnee," Area VII, Question 1; Area XIII, Question 2.

Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973: "I thought about how (before capture) opportunity had knocked, and I had not opened. Now I'll go out and find opportunity. (In day-dreams) I planned for the future 14 - 18 hours a day."

Lt. "E," interview Apr. 23, 1973: "I learned how to better organize my whole life. It was always hit and miss before. You would think of all your mistakes of the past, ways to do better, and how to apply them."

Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 4, 1973 (Manual, p. 38): "I remember my initial reaction when I was on the ground. I thought that as long as I was here, I hoped it would be at least a year, as it would take me at least that long to reorganize my life and to mature."

13. Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973: "I planned to play the organ for Christmas services . . . help church athletic programs . . . build a ranch for city kids." (Manual, p. 48): "I designed toys . . . (one of which) I plan to put on the market."

14. Manual, p. 39; Thomas, "The POWs Finally Talk--'I Have Been Tortured,'" San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 30, 1973, p. 28 (cf. supra, n. 7): "(Cdr Stratton) discovered that 'I could come back (after having been broken). That was the high point (of captivity)."

15. E.g., "POW who's Fit to Fight," San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 19, 1973, p. 10: "Air Force Colonel Theodore W. Guy said . . . he kept fit during nearly five years in Communist captivity by doing 45 left and right one-armed pushups each day."

"Ex-POW Aims for Marathon," San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle, Apr. 1, 1973, p. 5: "(Air Force Capt John Fer)

said: 'I'm in better shape now than when I was shot down. I base that on the number of pushups and the amount of running I can do . . . .' Fer worked out 30 to 45 minutes a day . . . . 'Exercise became an obsession with me . . . .'"
Richard Paoli, "Five Miles a Day in a Tiny Cell," Oakland Tribune, Apr. 13, 1973, p. E-3: Navy Pilot Capt Leo T. Profilet kept physically fit during 27 months isolation in a North Vietnamese prison camp by walking five miles a day in a seven by seven foot cell. "I could take about three and a half steps along one side of the cell and it was 340-some odd laps to make a mile . . . ." (Manual, p. 42).

16. George Murphy, "POWs Even Learned to Tap Out a Punchline, San Francisco Chronicle, Apr. 6, 1973, p. 17.
Lt "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973: "We always established an alternate means of communication, (so) if the primary broke down we always knew an alternate (way to stay in contact).

17. Manual, pp. 11f; supra, ch. 5.

18. E.g., Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 4, 1973 (Manual, p. 70): "I had faith that I would be living in a future life; if not in my own country, then in His."

19. E.g., Mrs. "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973: "He gave no statements to the North Vietnamese . . . as a means of getting word home because he knew our marriage was strong, and that we would be all right."
Louise Cook, "Ex-Prisoners Describe Darkness, Beatings," Oakland Tribune, Mar. 30, 1973, p. 20F: Regarding Army Maj. Floyd J. Thompson, the longest held American prisoner who tried to escape 5 times from the Viet Cong, "What kept him going? 'God, country, and the love of a good woman.'"
Lt "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973: quoted in the Manual, p. 57. (Cf., supra, p. 51, n. 26.)

20. E.g., "20 POWs Land at Travis Today," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 17, 1973, p. 1: Regarding Navy Lcdr Everett Alvarez, first American flier shot down in North Viet Nam, and a POW 8½ years; "One question was what kept him going while in captivity, and he replied, 'prayers, faith in my country, and faith in my fellow prisoners.'"

21. E.g., supra, n. 19 and n. 20.

22. Supra, pp. 18f.

23. Supra, pp. 40f.

24. Cf., "POWs who Chose to Die," San Francisco Chronicle, Apr. 4, 1973, p. 8. See infra, p. 123 and n. 46.

25. Jeremiah A. Denton and Kathryn Johnson, "How North Viets Tried Torture of our POWs, and How it Failed," The Independent (Richmond, Calif.), Apr. 5, 1973, p. 12; and Denton and Johnson, "Determined Men Versus the North Vietnamese System of Torture," The Independent, Apr. 6, 1973, p. 32.
"Why American POWs Held up So Well under Pressure: Interview with Dr. William E. Mayer," U.S. News & World Report, Apr. 16, 1973, p. 39: ". . . the abuse that was heaped upon some of the Americans over so many years strengthened their determination and brought forth the will to survive and the will to continue to resist."
Reinforced identity would seemingly reduce the need for defensiveness.
E.g., Pat Leisner, "POW Wife Retires as Head of Family," Oakland Tribune, May 6, 1973, p. 5-S: "Mrs. (Glendon) Perkins, (wife of Air Force Major and Returnee) said in an interview, "He's a lot more tolerant for the experience . . . ." (However, cf., supra, p. 54 and n. 64.)
Similar statements have been made to the media by other wives of Returnees.
Also see infra, n. 119: "Evaluation of POWs," U.S. Medicine, p. 22.

26. Medical treatment of Returnees is described in "POWs of Viet War Snap Back," Oakland Tribune, Nov. 13, 1973, p. 26; "Ex-POWs in Better Shape than Expected," Evening Tribune (San Diego), Nov. 13, 1973, p. A-5; Charlotte Saikowski, "How Fare the Ex-POWs?" Oakland Tribune, Nov. 14, 1973, p. 18-A; and "Returned POWs in Better Shape Than Expected," Navy Times, Dec. 5, 1973, p. 41.

27. Manual, p. 43 (also pp. 14f).
Career goals ranked highest on most interviews; see Appendix A: "Interview with the Returnee," Area XX.
Career for some meant a return to military duty, e.g., Lt "A," interview, Apr. 25, 1973: "I want to fly with an operational squadron, and I want to re-enter the normal career pattern. The big thing with me is career."
Career for some would mean a modification of former military duty, e.g., Margaret Eastman, "The Pain Lingers, Too: Fighter Pilot Fred Cherry Has a Desk in his Future," Family, Sept. 5, 1973, pp. 12f: (Air Force Col Fred Cherry).
Career for many will entail education, e.g., "POW Studies Pay Off," Navy Times, Nov. 14, 1973, pp. E-15f: (Air Force Major Robert Jeffry).
For some, either a desired or a necessary retirement from military life will involve a necessary career transition, e.g., "Ex-POW Gets Chance at Career in Business," Seattle Times, Dec. 27, 1973, p. D-6: (Air Force Lt Col Donald Odell);

and "Ex-POW in Senate Race," San Francisco Examiner, Jan. 4, 1974, p. 7: (Retired Air Force Lt Col Leo K. Thorsness).

28. Manual, p. 29.
E.g., wife estrangement took two forms, abandonment and personality change. See "POW Sued for Divorce," Oakland Tribune, Oct. 11, 1972, p. 1F: (Navy Lt. Everett Alvarez); and "Ex-POW, a Suicide, Is Laid to Rest," Oakland Tribune, June 9, 1973, p. 7-E: "She had developed into a very strong person," Rabbi (David J.) Jacobs said of Deborah Brudno (wife of Air Force Capt Edward A. Brudno). "He wanted to be her strength and she became his strength, and he couldn't stand it."

29. Ann Hellmuth, "Sad News for a POW," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 11, 1973, p. 9: "Navy Cmdr. James Hutton will be freed tomorrow . . . , but he may not know the girl he dreamed about (more than 7 years) has married someone else."
On the other hand, some fiancees waited for the return of their POW and subsequently they were married. "Returned POW, Bride Honeymoon at Tahoe," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 25, 1973, p. 6: (Navy Lcdr William Shankel and Mary Ann Hotop).
"Wedding Delayed 6 Years," San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 13, 1973, p. 1: (Army CWO Joseph Rose, III and Donna Steele).
"After Five Years--a POW Weds," Oakland Tribune, May 18, 1973, p. 34: (Lcdr David Jay Carey and Karen Louise Nelson).

30. "A.M. Show," Apr. 1973: Air Force Capt. William Butler said: "The face of America has changed drastically--the clothing styles, the haircuts, the automobiles, the look of San Francisco, for example, the new buildings--but the spirit of America is really no different than it always has been."
Appendix A: "Interview with the Returnee," Area XVII evoked responses which indicated confrontation with the homeland was more an adventure than a shock.
"Ex-POW Likes the New Ways," San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 21, 1973, p. 11: (Navy Cdr Richard Stratton).
Cf., Robin Wright, "POWs Face Cultural Shock on Release," Oakland Tribune, Sept. 4, 1972, p. 44 (cf., supra, p. 18).
The Returnees viewed the open availability of lewd movies, pornography and topless shows with a negative concern, however (see Manual, p. 66; and infra, p. 121 and n. 25).

31. Both official and popular attitudes toward the role of the POW in Indo-China can be seen in such things, as Presidential, Congressional and States' action, consideration for military decorations, federal and state benefits, concern groups, Homecoming festivities and parades. Only a sampling of news articles can be offered here:
"President's Party for POWs," Oakland Tribune, May 25, 1973, pp. 1, 20E;
"2 Generals, 2 Admirals, Promotions for 4 Ex-POWs," San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 29, 1973, p. 9;

"Ex-POWs Checked Out for Medals," Evening Tribune (San Diego), Jan. 18, 1974, p. A-17;
"POW Tax Relief Now Law," Oakland Tribune, Apr. 12, 1973, p. 4;
"36 States Will Aid Children of POWs," Navy Times, Oct. 31, 1973, p. 41;
"Viet Prison Raiders, Ex-POWs on Parade," Oakland Tribune, Apr. 28, 1973, p. 5-E; other metropolitan parages celebrating the return of the POWs occurred in New York City, and Dallas, Texas;
Sue Toma, "3.5 Million Said Wearing POW/MIA Bracelets," Navy Times, Jan. 31, 1973, p. 45;
"Controversial POW TV Show Postponed," Oakland Tribune, Mar. 7, 1973, p. 14 F.

32. "SecDef Blasts Fonda on POWs," Navy Times, May 2, 1973, p.35: "Secretary of Defense Elliot L. Richardson has lashed back at movie actress Jane Fonda for her description of American POWs as 'hypocrites and liars' who were not tortured by their North Vietnam captors."
"American POW Commander Denounces 'Collaborators'" Monterey Peninsula Herald (Calif.), Apr. 24, 1973, p. 2.
"POWs May Face Court-Martial," Oakland Tribune, May 29, 1973, p. 1. Concerning accusations of misconduct, see supra, p. 42 and n. 22.
An example of the dissenting view can be seen in the questioning of the "hero role" of the Returnees by the American Psychological Association, which received some limited attention in the media. See Dr. Herbert C. Kelman, APA Board of Directors, "POW Issue: Still Reason for Concern?" APA Monitor, IV (May, 1973), p. 2.

33. Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 4, 1973, and Mrs. "D," interview, Apr. 23, 1973, are both quoted in Manual, p. 1. See supra, pp. 29f and n. 4.
John T. Wheeler, "Nightmares No Longer are Forever," San Diego Union, Sept. 2, 1973, p. C-5: concerning Air Force Maj. and Mrs. Norman McDaniel: "Mac says now that he is back on duty, he hopes he can drop his role as former POW and just get on with his career and life. No one is more in agreement than Jean. 'I'm tired of being a freak living in a fishbowl.'"

34. Chaplain "M," interview, Apr. 2, 1973, indicated that Cdr "Z" was very insistent that he would grant no further interviews in regard to his POW experience. However, throughout the year following Homecoming, he was consistently before the public with the story of his imprisonment and adjustment to return. An apparent similar need has been observable in other Returnees. See Manual, pp. 55f and infra, pp. 80f, and n. 120.

35. "Accused Ex-POW Shoots Himself," Oakland Tribune, June 28, 1973, p. 20 E; also "2nd POW Kills Self," San Francisco Chronicle, June 28, 1973, p. 18: "(Marine Sgt Abel) Kavanaugh was one of

eight former POWs charged with aiding and conspiring with the enemy . . . ."
Cf., infra, p. 89.

36. Manual, p. 39.
Lt "A," interview, Apr. 15, 1972: "(After interrogations) I sat in isolation for 6 months and shook and shook. I worried, what would happen in the US when I returned. Would I get out of one prison only to go into another? No man has lived up to the Code of Conduct. I did the best I could, I clammed up."
"POWs Say they 'Talked,'" San Francisco Chronicle, Apr. 2, 1973: "(Those men) who said, 'I will not give you any military information or participate in propaganda activities,' said Air Force Colonel Norman Gaddis . . . 'are not with us today.'"

37. E.g., Manual, p. 12: ". . . to enlist the aid of a brother Returnee for one to whom he ministers . . . ."

38. Manual, p. 55 (Chaplain as absolver); also see p. vi (forgiveness as a doorway to the future); p. 4 (Returnee's initiative blocked by guilt).

39. Edward Hunter, Brain-Washing in Red China: The Calculated Destruction of Men's Minds (New York: The Vanguard Press, Inc., 1953), p. 10: "There is a difference between the two. Brain-washing is indoctrination, a comparatively simple procedure, but brain-changing is immeasurably more sinister and complicated. Whereas you merely have to undergo a brain-cleansing to rid yourself of "imperialist poisons," in order to have a brain-changing you must empty your mind of old ideas and recollections." In the Forward to his book, the author states: "This was the first book to use the word (brain-washing), and it should, therefore, receive credit for putting it into our language."
Brain-washing is a literal translation of the Chinese term 洗腦 (Hsi Nao). Hereinafter it will be used without the hyphen, which is dropped in English usage.
The nearest approach to an organized theoretical basis for thought reform is contained in Mao Tse-Tung, On Contradiction (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1958-English, 1958-Chinese), and Mao Tse-Tung, On Practice (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1960-English, 1958-Chinese).

40. This definition of brainwashing is the Author's own, and the result of the study of the historical development of the subject (see supra, pp. 3-1f). Bibliographic sources consulted include: Theodore H.E. Chen, Thought Reform of the Chinese Intellectuals (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960); Chow Tse-Tsung, The May Fourth Movement (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960); Robert Jay Lifton, Thought Reform and the Psychology of Totalism: A Study of "Brainwashing" in China (New York:

W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963); Mu Fu-Sheng, The Wilting of the Hundred Flowers: The Chinese Intelligentsia under Mao (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1963); Hunter, Brain-Washing; and Edgar H. Schein, Coercive Persuasion (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1961).

41. Manual, pp. 38-41.
B.F. Skinner, Beyond Freedom and Dignity, Bantam Books (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1972), p. 55: "If we do not know why a person acts as he does, we attribute his behavior to him."

42. Manual, p. 39; supra, p. 72 and n. 11.

43. Supra, p. 72 and n. 9; p. 42 and n. 20.
Manual, pp. 39f.
Viktor E. Frankl, The Will to Meaning: Foundations and Applications of Logotherapy, Plumb Books (New York: The New American Library, 1970), p. 153: "In North Korean prisoner of war camps the prisoners were told that if they did not yield to brainwashing, they would die without anybody knowing about them and their heroism. To someone who is not religious, it must seem senseless to be heroic if no one gets anything out of it, and not even a single person ever knows anything about it."

44. Manual, p. 39f; supra, p. 72 and n. 10.
William Sargant, Battle for the Mind: A Physiology of Conversion and Brainwashing, Pan Books, Ltd. (London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1959), p. 168: ". . . being cut off from all advice which he would ordinarily expect from those near and dear to him, he finds his tension and anxiety redoubled."

45. Sargant, The Mind, p. 165: "To elicit confessions, one must try to create feelings of anxiety and guilt, and induce states of mental conflict if these are not already present. Even if the accused person is genuinely guilty, the normal functioning of his brain must be disturbed so that judgment becomes disturbed."
Cf., supra, p. 73.

46. See supra, p. 42 and n. 21.
Sargant, The Mind, p. 168: ". . . every effort was made to stir up anxiety, to implant guilt, to confuse the victim, to create a state in which he does not know what is going to happen to him from one minute to the next."
"Granted that the right pressure is applied in the right way and for long enough, ordinary prisoners have little chance of staving off collapse; only the exceptional or mentally ill person is likely to resist over very long periods. . . . it is the lunatic who can be so impervious

to suggestion."
Lt "A," interview, Apr. 25, 1973 (Manual, p. 11) documents conflict in first meeting with another American POW, probably due to being conflicted with induced guilt.
Documentation of psychological pressures used in the manipulation of prisoners in Korea is to be found in the Report of the Secretary of Defense's Advisory Committee on Prisoners of War, "POW--the Fight Continues after the Battle," Carter L. Burgess, chairman, August, 1955.

47. Lifton, Thought Reform, p. 69: " . . . some degree of self-betrayal is quickly seen as a way to survive . . . . This bond of betrayal . . . may develop to the point where it seems to him to be all he has to grasp; turning back becomes ever more difficult."
Capt Charles R. Gillespie, address, Oct. 31, 1973: "Having been tortured and forced to do things you know you were not supposed to do, develops in a person a great guilt feeling."
See Manual, p. 4 ("blocked by guilt" upon return); and supra, p. 73 and n. 36 - n. 38; and, in the extreme case, supra, p. 73 and n. 35.

48. E.g., Lcdr "C," interview, Mar. 28, 1973 (Manual, p. 40): "I have a score to settle!"

49. The need to overcome reticency for pastoral involvement is herein documented, supra, p. 29 and n. 2.

50. See supra, p. 73 and n. 34; and Manual, p. 24.

51. Manual, pp. 40f.

52. Manual, p. 47; and infra, pp. 82f.

53. Infra, p. 76 and n. 73.

54. Supra, p. 72.

55. Manual, pp. 69f; supra p. 41 and n. 13.

56. Manual, pp. 11f, 70 f.
Leadership of POWs rejected authoritarianism as described by Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom, Discuss Books (New York: Avon Books, 1968), p. 195: "He has a belief in authority as long as it is strong and commanding. . . . Not to change fate, but to submit to it, is the heroism of the authoritarian character."

Obviously, low self-esteem against which the POWs fought in corporate and individual ways, would have an effect upon leadership. Erwin K. Koranyi, "Psychodynamic theories of the 'Survivor Syndrome,'" Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal, XIV (April, 1969), 168: The author describes the

humiliations and horrors of the prisoners life as making "an irrevocable impact upon self image and self-esteem, representing a destructive influence towards the ego-ideal and superego." P. 169, one possible result is "identification with the enemy." This of course was the goal of brainwashing efforts.

57. Manual, pp. 57-63.

58. A patriotism and devotion to duty deepened by rational testing is seen as a new and strengthened dimension in the lives of Returnees. See Manual, p. 41.

59. Appendix "A,": "Interview with the Returnee," Area XI, Question 3 received a unanimous "no" answer.

60. Manual, p. 31; supra, p. 40 and n. 3.
Manual, p. 37f; e.g., Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 30, 1973: "I reflected on my errors in the past especially in regard to my own conduct in relation to people. I would not be so petty. I would look at others, make room for individual differences, and see the good in them. In cell groups between periods in solitary I worked on this constantly. I lived with people's problems constantly, and it caused me to think about myself. 'What do I do that effects others, and how can I be conscious of those things?' I would say."
All interviewed spoke very frankly and personally about their self-criticisms and plans for making application of personal growth upon return.

61. Supra, p. 41 and n. 13;
Manual, p. 41.
Cf., Allyn Rickett and Adele Rickett, Prisoners of Liberation (New York: Cameron Associates, Inc., 1957) p. 201: (The following statements are made about self-criticisms urged by the Chinese of imprisoned Americans in northern China.) "Therefore it was only when a prisoner ceased confessing for confession's sake or setting up false rationalizations and began to understand his true self and the harm his actions had caused others that he could develop a real desire to reform. At this point he would begin to struggle against his old selfish anti-social habits and outlooks and replace them with a new sense of social responsibility." (See supra, p. 10.)

62. Manual, pp. 41f. (Lcdr "C," interview, Mar. 28, 1973: "I have a score to settle!")

63. Lcdr "C," interview, Mar. 28, 1973 (Manual, p. 59).

64. Manual, p. 13; supra, p. 43 and n. 32.
"Evaluation of POWs Disturbing," U.S. Medicine, Feb. 1, 1974, p. 22: "Because one POW would tell us exactly the

same as another, we felt their statements had been rehearsed beforehand, either in their own minds or with others on the ward." (Cf., supra, p. 43 and n. 32.)
Schein, Coercive Persuasion, pp. 62-110: "The Passion for Unanimity."
Chen, Thought Reform, p. 79.

65. Chen, Thought Reform, ch. 9, pp. 72-79: "Operational Principles of Thought Reform."

66. Sargant, The Mind, p. 166: "Was the suspect's brain bombarded with such a variety of stimuli in the form of ever-changing attitudes and questions by the examiners that he became confused and incriminated himself, perhaps falsely?" Also, p. 168: " . . . every effort was made . . . to create a state in which he does not know what is going to happen from one minute to the next."
Lt "A," interview, Apr. 15, 1972, reveals an exception: "With the French, they won on the home-front. The Vietnamese used prisoners to show they were one with the American people. The Vietnamese would have supported our Revolutionary War. They did not want to anger the American people. They wanted friendly Americans. They wanted the released POWs to side with the anti-war movement. They wanted to prove they were humane. . . . In interrogation, they complimented the American family life. I told him about our clothes in the U.S., and so on. But they evidently didn't want the interrogators to talk to POWs about his (American) way of life in comparison to the (Vietnamese) way of life."

67. Lt "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973: "They did try to get me to say 'I am a U.S. War Criminal.' Their aim was to get us to admit that, then to get us to pity them for (being victims of) the bombing."
See supra, pp. 74f and n.60.
Cf., "7 A.M. News," K.F.M.B. (San Diego) telecast, Nov. 6, 1973: Mr. Jean Pasqualini (Bao Jua Wang), interviewed after seven years in a Chinese prison labor camp, said that his confession was subject to constant review while it was in the making, that it took 15 months and required over 700 written pages.

68. Sargant, The Mind, ch.s 5-7, pp. 79-155: These chapters identify brainwashing methods directed toward religious conversions.
Fromm, Escape, p. 194: "For the authoritarian character activity is rooted in a basic feeling of powerlessness which it tends to overcome. Activity in this sense means to act in the name of something higher than one's own self. It is possible in the name of God, the past, nature, or duty, but never in the name of the future, of the unborn, of what has no power or life as such."

69. E.g., Manual, p. 61.

70. Manual, p. 23; supra, p. 53 and n. 49. The "growth model" is

primarily oriented toward the potential and hope of the future rather than to the authority and the analysis of the past.

71. Carl R. Rogers, On Becoming a Person: A Therapist's View of Psychotherapy, Sentry Edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961), p. 35: "This tendency (to expand, extend, become autonomous, develop, mature) may become deeply buried under layer after layer of encrusted psychological defenses; it may be hidden behind elaborate façades which deny its existence; but it is my belief that it exists in every individual, and awaits only the proper conditions to be released and expressed."

72. Hunter, Brain-Washing, p. 134: "There can be no conversion, even when it concerns only dialectical materialism, without faith--unquestioning and complete."
Anne E. Freedman, The Planned Society: An Analysis of Skinner's Proposals (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Behaviordelia, Inc., 1972), p. 54: "Those who fear the growth in man's ability to understand and predict behavior are not only concerned about the possible misuse of this knowledge in social affairs, but about the psychological affects such knowledge will have as well. The fear that behavioral science . . . will rob man of his freedom and life of its spontaneity and meaning."
Common to both the above is the need for the faith of a man to make right choices and commitments in regard to his own growth or destruction, and in regard to the growth or destruction of his society. See Manual, p. 69, and infra, p. 123.

73. "Why American POWs Held up so Well under Pressure: Interview with Dr. William E. Mayer," U.S. News & World Report, Apr. 16, 1973, p. 39: "I was (surprised by Hanoi's torture of the POWs). The North Vietnamese know as well as we do that physical torture not only tends to firm up resistance, it is relatively unproductive in terms of information gathering and breaking the will of POWs."
Dr. Mayer, military psychiatrist for 20 years and presently Director, California State Department of Mental Hygiene, was also quoted in "Torture Kept POWs Alive--Doctor," Oakland Tribune, Apr. 11, 1973, p. 11.

74. "Why American POWs Held up," U.S. News & World Report, pp. 39f.

75. Manual, p. 43.

76. Erwin K. Koranyi, "Psychodynamic Theories of the 'Survivor Syndrome,'" Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal, XIV (April 1969), p. 168: Receiving and witnessing punishment, being a participant (personally or as observer) in constant humiliation, horror, threat and degradation, all carrying enormously powerful messages of worthlessness and insignificance, made an irrevocable impact upon self-image and self-esteem, representing a destructive influence towards ego-ideal and super-ego."

77. The definitive work was Paul Chodoff, "Late Effects of the Concentration Camp Syndrome," Archives of General Psychiatry, VIII (April, 1963), 323-333. On pp. 324f Chodoff lists such symptoms as direct anxiety (irritability, restlessness, apprehensiveness, startled reactions to ordinary stimuli), bodily effects of anxiety or defenses against it (including weakness and fatigue, preoccupation with captivity experiences, and feeling that nothing of real significance had happened in their lives since liberation, and other somatic complaints similar to those encountered in "grief work"), depression, seclusiveness, and apathy.
An expansion of this with more application to the Asian scene is to be found in Paul Chodoff, "Effects of Extreme Coercive and Oppressive Forces: Brainwashing and Concentration Camps," in Vol. III of American Handbook of Psychiatry, ed. by Silvano Arieti (3 vols.; New York: Basic Books, Inc., publishers, 1966), pp. 384-405.

78. An amusing paradigm might be seen in "An Emotional, Exuberant Welcome Home," Time, Feb. 26, 1973, p. 12: "As one doctor prepared for an examination of Navy Lieut. Commander Paul Galanti a prisoner for 6½ years, the patient dropped to the floor, did 50 push ups, then walked around the room on his hands. 'Knock it off, Paul,' the doctor laughed. 'I got your point.'"

79. "'Hanoi Hilton' Deserved Other Nickname," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 18, 1973, p. 6: "The 27 men brought out of the jungles in Loc Ninh . . . dressed differently and acted differently than those released in Hanoi. For one thing, they hardly knew each other."
Cf. Manual, pp. 11-15.

80. "Guards Childishly Cruel," Oakland Tribune, Apr. 6, 1973, p. 21; also Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973, and Cdr "D," interview, Apr. 24, 1973.
Cf. Manual, pp. 5f, 45f.

81. Manual, pp. 51f.

82. "POWs Who Chose to Die," San Francisco Chronicle, Apr. 4, 1973, p. 8: Major Floyd Kushner, Medical Corps, U.S. Army, POW Returnee from Viet Cong prison said: "The overall death rate in the south was 45 per cent." "He told of the mental regression of prisoners reduced to huddling in the fetal position 'sucking their thumbs and calling for mama,' and of another prisoner who 'sat on his bed with a blanket over his head for two years' in an effort to mechanically block out a world of deprivation and death.'"

83. Koranyi, "Psychodynamic Theories" p. 168.

84. Cf., ibid., p. 171.

For psychoanalytic approach, see H. Grauer, "Psychodynamics of the Survivor Syndrome," Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal, XIV (December, 1969), p. 618.

85. Leo Eitinger, "Pathology of the Concentration Camp Syndrome," Archives of General Psychiatry, V (October, 1961), 86: "(This) syndrome . . . appears in most cases to be the result of organic changes in the brain caused by mechanical and toxic injuries as by starvation and exhaustion."
Eitenger's theory is singular in its emphasis upon organic causality. His research involving Norwegian concentration camp prisoners is explained in his article: "Concentration Camp Survivors in the Postwar World," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXXII (1962), 367-375. (See especially p. 372.)

86. "Home at Last," Newsweek, Feb. 26, 1973, p. 22: "One (Clark A.F.B.) hospital official said that 15 to 20 of the pilots had suffered permanent eye damage due to vitamin deficiencies and will probably have to be grounded. But other doctors maintained that fully 99 per cent of the returnees' physical afflictions can be treated successfully and, in general, doctors were surprised at how healthy the men were."
However, the story outside North Viet Nam was different. Deprivation of protein among Viet Cong held POWs is documented in: "POWs: The Price of Survival," Newsweek, Apr. 16, 1973, pp. 26, 31f.
"'Hanoi Hilton' Deserved Other Nickname," Oakland Tribune, p. 6: "Chief warrant officer James Hestand . . . had dropped from 160 to 107 pounds in 23 months of jungle captivity (in South Viet Nam).

87. Manual, p. 53 ("Period B").

88. Accounts of torture are numerous. Two summaries from which later "torture without marks" can be observed are: "Torture . . . solitary . . . Starvation: POWs Tell the Inside Story," U.S. News & World Report, Apr. 9, 1973, pp. 33f; and "Beyond Worst Suspicions," Time, Apr. 9, 1973, pp. 20, 25f.

89. Chodoff, "Oppressive Forces," p. 402.

90. Grauer, "Survivor Syndrome," p. 621.

91. Koranyi, "Psychodynamic Theories," p. 171.

92. Ibid., p. 167; also Erwin K. Koranyi, "A Theoretical Review of the Survivor Syndrome," Diseases of the Nervous System, V (February, 1969) p. 115: "Lifton's studies of Hiroshima's victims reveal many similar features to survivors of Nazi persecution."
Cf. Robert J. Lifton, Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima (New York: Random House, Inc., 1967); Paul Benzaquin, Holocaust (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1959) pp. 149-152;

and "Air Crash Survivors: The Troubled Aftermath," Time, Jan. 15, 1973, p. 53.

93. Chodoff, "Concentration Camp Syndrome," p. 332; cf., Chodoff, "Oppressive Forces," p. 402.

94. Appendix A, see "Interview with the Returnee," Area XVI, Question 4; e.g., Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 30, 1973.

95. "POWs who Chose to Die" San Francisco Chronicle, p. 8; "All of us Bear the Scars," U.S. News & World Report, Apr. 16, 1973, p. 41.

96. Lt "A," and Lcdr "C," in interviews described their feelings toward the enemy as indifferent. Numerous examples appeared in the newspapers in which Returnees explained that they held no bitterness toward the enemy (which did not rule out being indifferent), e.g.: Navy Cdr Paul Galanti ("POW Finds his Appetite," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 22, 1973, p. 6E); Navy Cdr Richard Stratton ("The POWs Finally Talk—'I Have Been Tortured,'" San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 30, 1973, p. 1); Air Force Captain Carl Chambers ("Tortured POW 'Holds No Grudge,'" San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 31, 1973, p. 10); civilian pilot Ernest C. Brace (William O'Brien, "Buried Alive--Longest Held Civilian," San Francisco Examiner, Apr. 1, 1973, p. 1; and Navy Capt Ernest Moore (Laurie Becklund, "Life Returning to Near Normal for POW Wife," Evening Tribune (San Diego), Oct. 19, 1973, p. A-25. One exception to address the media with bitterness toward the enemy was Army Captain George Wanat, an advisor who was held by the Viet Cong ("'Hanoi Hilton' Deserved Other Nickname," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 18, 1973, p. 6; and "An Emotional, Exuberant Welcome Home," Time, Feb. 26, 1973, p. 14.)

97. Chodoff, "Concentration Camp Syndrome," p. 332.

98. Lcdr Arthur D. Garfein, MC, USNR, interview, Jan. 31, 1974 (see supra, p. 21).

99. Robert J. Weiss and Henry E. Payson, "Gross Stress Reaction. I" in Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry, ed. by Alfred M. Freedman and Harold I. Kaplan (Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1967), p. 1031: "In chronic reactions, one notices that the victim continues to struggle to recover through reliving the crisis."
E.g., Jonathan F. Borus, "Reentry: I. Adjustment Issues Facing the Vietnam Returnee," Archives of General Psychiatry, XXVIII (April, 1973), 505: "Emotional issues faced by most returning veterans included working through changes in emotional temperament related to Vietnam and allowing oneself to feel and express feelings on return. Some returnees also faced the more serious adjustment tasks of resolving recurrent emotional disturbances about combat experiences, gaining control of and working through violent feelings and behaviors seeming to stem

from the Vietnam experience . . . . "

100. Cf. H. Grauer, "Psychodynamics of the Survivor Syndrome," Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal, XIV (December, 1969), p. 619: "In the transference the patient relives the concentration camp experience. With the projection of the patient's superego on the analyst, the therapist quickly assumes the role of the primitive brutal Nazi guard. The alternate is to project the self. The analyst then becomes the weak and ineffectual inmate exposed to attack. 'You could never understand what happened. I don't see how you can help me, nothing will undo what was done to me.' The concentration camp experience seems to block the reliving and repetition of the childhood neurosis. Pre-war experience and parental figures are persistently idealized."

101. Manual, p. 44.
E.g., Cdr and Mrs. "D," conjoint interview, Apr. 24, 1973: That the wife was seen as "child-like" in arguments was related by the interviewer to the Returnee's view of enemy guards, thus yielding progress toward the resolution of the problem.

102. Manual, pp. 3f; supra, pp. 30f and n. 11.

103. Manual, p. 61; Lcdr "C," interview, Apr. 4, 1973.

104. Manual, p. 44.

105. Ibid.; Navy Capt Charles R. Gillespie, address, Oct. 31, 1973; also similar remarks in interview with all Returnees in connection with this research: " . . . (the sound of) the boots of the turn-key . . . "
Lt "A," interview, Apr. 15, 1972: He told of a series of mock executions he had endured on the way to Hanoi after capture.
Cdr "D," interview, Apr. 24, 1973: "I reacted to their authority by being scared, by treating them like children, by contempt . . . . "

106. Supra, pp. 71f and p. 74.

107. Manual, pp. 43f; Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973: "One fellow made slide-rules and left them out or hid them in obvious places for inspections. It was his way of saying to (the enemy), 'See what I'm doing. You can't hold me down."

108. Supra, pp. 31f.
Cdr "D," interview, Apr. 24, 1973: "I don't care for (the North Vietnamese). I have no lasting hate. You try to get along without it so you don't lose an eye or an eardrum."
Mitchell Thomas, "The POWs Finally Talk--'I Have Been Tortured,'" San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 30, 1973, p. 1: "'There's no room for bitterness,' (Navy Cdr Richard) Stratton said. 'There's

too much to be done.'" (See Manual, p. 6, and supra, pp. 32f.
William O'Brien, "Buried Alive--Longest Held Civilian," San Francisco Examiner, Apr. 1, 1973, p. 1: " . . . Ernest C. Brace, . . . a civilian POW with the longest record of imprisonment of a non-military person, said he 'has no bitterness towards those people.' His treatment included having his neck and wrists locked in wooden stocks for almost two years, frequent beatings, and being buried alive in a foxhole with only his head above the chin being exposed."
"Tortured POW 'Holds No Grudge,'" San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 31, 1973, p. 10: (Air Force Capt Carl D. Chambers).
Cf. "An Emotional, Exuberant Welcome Home," Time, Feb. 26, 1973, p. 14: "Army Captain George Wanat was more bitter than most about his captivity with the Viet Cong. He told his father . . . , 'I'd kill those bastards if I saw them again.' He reported that he had been kept in solitary confinement for five months 'in a bamboo cage full of ants and poisonous snakes.' His diet, he said, was rice and pork fat, rationed at one bowl a day, plus some water."

109. Manual, p. 4; supra, pp. 31f. Cf., pp. 52f and n. 39.

110. Manual, p. 44; supra, p. 32 and n. 25.
Also see supra, pp. 79f and n.s 101, 103; also remarks of Cdr "D" in n. 105.

111. Manual, pp. 44f; Lt "A," interview, Apr. 15, 1972: "(Under interrogation) I did the best that I could. I clammed up."

112. Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973 (Manual, 45 f).

113. Manual, pp. 25f.
Supra, p. 32, and n. 35.
Harvey A. Barocas and Carol B. Barocas, "Manifestations of Concentration Camp Effects on the Second Generation," American Journal of Psychiatry, CXXX (July, 1973), 820: "Survivors of concentration camps are bottled up with aggressive impulses, and their children may become the transferential recipients of this unconscious and unexpressed rage. The survivors, being terrified of their own aggression and unable to express it, may communicate subtle cues for their children to act out the aggression and thus vicariously gratify the parents' wishes. Reports of aggressive, explosive behavior in these children upon reaching adolescence are thus understandable."
This could be related to the phenomenon wherein some prisoners acquire an identification with the captor. See Paul Chodoff, "Late Effects of the Concentration Camp Syndrome," Archives of General Psychiatry, VIII (April, 1963), 329.

114. Manual, pp. 44f.

Cf. Roy R. Grinker and John P. Spiegel, Men under Stress (Philadelphia: Blakiston, 1945), p. 169: "As the flier tells his story during the initial interviews, the psychiatrist directs the conversation toward an account of traumatic or painful events in combat, crash landings, narrow escapes, deaths of friends, noting any reverberations of anxiety as these incidents are recounted."
Herbert Spiegel, "Hypnosis: an Adjunct to Psychotherapy," in Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry, ed. by Freedman and Kaplan, p. 1232: In regard to abreaction, " . . . the battle casualty can reenact the traumatic event, recall forgotten details, give vent to his fears and guilt, and discover that he can still live with honor."

115. Manual, pp. 55f; also see supra, p. 73 and n. 34. This reflects the importance to the POW of communicating in prison, as well.

116. Supra, p. 73 and n. 34.
See William Miller, "Dilemmas and Conflicts Specific to the Returned Prisoner of War," San Diego: Center for Prisoner of War Studies, 1974. (Mimeographed.) P. 13: "Even those returned prisoners who shun public speaking engagements, conferences, and conventions are often more than willing to talk with people involved in training programs."
Also see supra, p. 18 and n. 19, which documents the value to Returnees and family members of the interviewing phase of this dissertation. This was largely expressed with the hope that the Manual would be useful to others.

117. Grinker and Spiegel, Men under Stress, p. 160: "Since emotions . . . are characterized by charges of energy seeking some form of expression, the ego may become weakened by the very process of suppression, or else may adopt one of the compromises discussed above, which results in a neurotic expression of the energy.
A full discussion of such suppression is to be found in Norman Q. Brill, "Gross Stress Reaction. II: Traumatic War Neurosis" in Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry, ed. by Freedman and Kaplan, pp. 1031-1035, as well as in other literature on this subject.

118. Observations from pastoral experience as a Navy Chaplain, especially during the period from November 1967 to January 1969 working with Viet Nam combat casualties during their recuperation and readjustment to return. See supra, p. 11.
Chaim F. Shatan, "The Grief of Soldiers: Vietnam Combat Veterans' Self-Help Movement," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XLIII (July, 1973), 640-653: This article describes an effort to provide readjustment group sessions. All too often such efforts have been skewed by the therapists' own anti-war sentiments. The resulting effect has undoubtedly limited the membership to those of similar sentiments, and could serve only to compound the rage of the members rather

than working through it. E.g., Robert Jay Lifton, "Home from the War: The Psychology of Survival," Atlantic Monthly, Nov. 1973, pp. 56-72.
Chaplains trained in group process could render valuable service to post-combat veterans. The value of this in the military psychiatric setting is documented in Gilbert H. Berken and Michael B. Eisenstat, "Chaplaincy Sponsored Group Therapy: A Military Treatment Modality without Jeopardy," Military Medicine, CXXXIV (May, 1969), 360-362.

119. Theodore Van Putten and Warden H. Emory, "Traumatic Neuroses in Viet Nam Returnees: a Forgotten Diagnosis?" Archives of General Psychiatry, XXIX (November, 1973), 695-698.
Also see: "Evaluation of POWs Disturbing," U.S. Medicine, Feb. 1, 1974, p. 2: "Three psychiatrists have reported that their own feelings of resentment toward military service and ambivalence toward returning prisoners of war made evaluation of the POWs difficult."
p. 22: "Another conflict . . . was whether to view the POWs as patients or heroes. It simply was not clear in our minds who was stronger or who needed whom, the psychiatrist or the survivor."

120. E.g., Mrs. "T," wife of civilian POW held 3 years by Japanese in the Philippines during World War II, interview, Apr. 28, 1973: "When (my husband) came back, I told him he needn't talk about it if he didn't want to. I wasn't going to pry. After all these years, it still bothers him, I know. It is responsible for a lot of our problems."
An obvious solution is still available to them.
See Manual, pp. 24f.

121. See supra, pp. 72f and n.s 31 and 32.

122. Eric Klinger, Structure and Functions of Fantasy (New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1971), p. 7.

123. Jerome L. Singer, Daydreaming: An Introduction to the Experimental Study of Inner Experience (New York: Random House, 1966), p. 3.

124. Klinger, Fantasy, p. 49.

125. Cf., ibid., pp. 8ff.

126. Singer, Daydreaming, pp. 24, 92, and 132.
Lt "A," interview, Apr. 25, 1973: "I never thought about daydreaming before (being captured) because I led a very active life."

"The Transcript," Navy Times, Apr. 18, 1973, p. 30: "Capt. Harry Jenkins . . . phrased it very, very well in three words: Praying, planning and pacing."

127. Manual, p. 48; Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973: He said

that in prison in his fantasies he designed a locking device toy and other items which he hopes to market, a ranch for inner-city boys, and numerous other projects.
Kathryn Johnson, "POWs Kept Alert in Hanoi Hilton," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 17, 1973, p. 8-E: "(Navy Capt. Jeremiah Denton) built a home in his mind . . . . 'Now that he's back, he wants to build a place on the water which we can use as a home base for the children to come back to,' (his wife said)."
"How U.S. Prisoners Kept from Going Mad," Oakland Tribune, Mar. 30, 1973, p. 20-F: "Mental exercises helped the mind escape the confines of tiny cells."
"POW Poets Wroto of Love, Home and Mice," Los Angeles Times, Mar. 30, 1973, p. 3: "Their bodies were imprisoned but their minds sought freedom."

128. Manual, p. 31; supra, p. 75, n. 60.
Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973: This Returnee said he daydreamed 14 - 18 hours a day, and that in addition to other matters he reviewed "the plots of past experiences mentally re-enacting them, trying a variety of revisions" of his own behavior.
"The Longest Chapter," All Hands, October, 1973, p. 28: Navy Lcdr George Coker replied to a question about mental activity during isolation, "I could work for hours trying to remember one little tiny fact. All of my final conversations with all of the people I know really well, I know them almost verbatim."
"POW Life Changed His Outlook," Oakland Tribune, June 3, 1973, p. 3-D: Lt Wayne K. Goodermote compared the life of POWs in North Viet Nam with that of retired persons. "They sit around. They look back at their life. They think about the things they liked, the things they don't like, the mistakes they made."

129. Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973: "You'd daydream about being a hero in sports or a big lover . . . . "
Omnipotent fantasies that could threaten to break with reality upon return could cause men to refuse help for themselves. "I got through this, I can do anything." (Cf., supra, p.31, n.22 .)

130. Ibid. (Manual, p. 46).
Cf. Singer, Daydreaming, p. 17.

131. Caroline Drewes, "The New World of Ex-POW Alvarez," San Francisco Examiner & Chronicle, Oct. 7, 1973, p. 4: "The hours and days and weeks of dull boredom. The nothing was the worst part. I slept as much as I could, sleep is your best friend because you can escape, and then you revert to daydreaming. I must have lived my whole life over three times."

132. Singer, Daydreaming, pp. 26ff.

133. Petty Officer "G," interview, Sept. 21, 1972 (Manual, p. 46):

"Daydreaming was so beautiful that I had to ration it in my daily schedule."
Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973: "If it got too unreal, you just had to control it."

134. Singer, Daydreaming, pp. 25f.

135. Ibid., p. 42; also see Klinger, Fantasy, p. 9.

136. Supra, p. 82 and n. 127.

137. Singer, Daydreaming, p. 28.

138. Ibid., p. 24; Those long separated who have idolized each other find each other to be quite human and fallible after reunion. The process is similar to disillusionment in the face of dashed hopes upon repatriation. See Manual, pp. 18, 24.

139. Manual, pp. 46f.

140. See Singer, Daydreaming, pp. 103f; also supra, n. 126.

141. Singer, Daydreaming, p. 34.
Cf. supra, pp. 74f.
Martin Grotjahn, Beyond Laughter (New York: The Blakiston Division, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957), p. 34: "As Reik expressed it, 'A thought murder a day keeps the doctor away."

142. Singer, Daydreaming, pp. 24f, 141.
One exception was that Lt "E" indicated that his daydreams included sex.

143. Ibid., pp. 97-101.

144. See supra, pp. 17f.

145. Singer, Daydreaming, p. 25.

146. Cf. Manual, p. 43.

147. See Singer, Daydreaming, pp. 88ff; Klinger, Fantasy, pp. 305f.

148. See supra, n. 117.

149. Singer, Daydreaming,pp. 88-99; 142.

150. Ibid., pp. 98f.

151. Klinger, Fantasy, p. 315; cf. Manual, p. 43: The making of slide-rules was an example of activities that "cue off anxiety and anger."
See supra, n. 116.

152. Joseph H. Friend and David B. Guralnik, ed., Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1959), p. 949: "Money . . . (is) used as a medium of exchange and measure of value . . . ." Application of this definition is made here as to what is symbolically exchanged.

153. Manual, p. iv: " . . . time is presently considered the greatest element of sacrifice . . . ."
Wayne Carlson, "The POWs Now--Most Adjusting," Evening Tribune (San Diego), Feb. 2, 1974, p. A-3: "One bachelor officer had accumulated $250,000 in back pay during his imprisonment."

154. Supra, p. 72, n. 31, lists a sampling of benefits provided Returnees. Also "POWs Get Gift Offers Galore," Navy Times, Mar. 7, 1973, p. 5. "Brass Bands in a Low Key," Newsweek, Feb. 26, 1973, p. 24: "From the time the planes began landing at Clark Air Base in the Philippines, the POWs have been swamped with letters, telegrams, floral tributes and offers of free clothes, free ice cream, free taxi rides, free hair-dos for their women. The Ford Motor Co.'s dealer organization promised every man the loan of a new car . . . for a year, free maintenance included. Baseball Commissioner Bowie Kuhn guaranteed free lifetime passes to all major league games. PSA Airlines . . . offered to fly POW families anywhere in the state (of California)--even to Disneyland, where they would of course pay nothing. Several resorts and hotel chains . . . have offered free vacations."
The gift-giving motivation was of such magnitude that the brakes were finally applied by responsible authorities: "POW Group Rejects Gifts of Cars, TVs" Oakland Tribune, Feb. 8, 1973: "The National League of Families of POW and MIA said they opposed the plan by Welcome Home Our Prisoners because 'it is not in keeping with our ideas of what the prisoners need.'"
"DoD Rejects Fat POW Benefits Package," Navy Times, Sept. 19, 1973, p. 28.

155. Manual, pp. 48f.

156. Manual, pp. 47f; supra, p. 82 and n. 127.

157. H. Grauer, "Survivor Syndrome," p. 619: " . . . money received as restitution payment (for World War II Nazi captivity related losses or treatment needs) is frequently used to help less fortunate relatives; it is almost never spent to benefit the patient directly."
Cf. supra, p. 73.

158. Manual, p. 49.
Cf. Lt "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973; A description of the characteristics of fighter pilots is quoted in the Manual, p. 32. The commentary is developed supra, p. 71, n. 5.

159. Manual, p. 49.

Carlson, "The POWs Now," p. 1: "Many have newfound wealth but in some cases the money has caused problems."
And, p. A-3: "The wives, in most cases, had to manage the money, make the investments. When the husbands returned, they had to renegotiate, reevaluate how the money was spent. It wasn't a case of wasting it. It was a question of what is the best way to spend it."

160. Ibid.
"Brass Bands in a Low Key," Newsweek, Feb. 26, 1973, p. 24: " . . . an earlier POW returnee was given a new Corvette by a Denver dealer and totaled it the next month;"
"Ex-POW Wrecks $10,000 Car," Oakland Tribune, Mar. 28, 1973, p. 1-F;
"Ex-POW Killed in Auto Crash," San Francisco Chronicle, Jan. 26, 1974, p. 1: Navy Cdr Robert J. Schweitzer, alone in a single car high-speed freeway accident.
Cf. Jeane Westin, "Autocide--How Many Accidents Happen on Purpose?" Parade, Sept. 30, 1973, p. 12.

161. Manual, p. 49.
Cf., confrontation in the case of suspected transference, supra, p. 80 and n. 114.

162. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., The Worship of the Church (Greenwich, Conn.: Seabury Press, 1952). A paradigm is suggested by the Offertory in the Holy Communion, p. 44: Our gifts "are the partial, outward tokens of a complete, inward dedication . . . of everything that we are and everything that we possess . . ."

163. Manual, p. 49.

164. Ibid; e.g.: "21 POWs Dine with the Governor," San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 22, 1973, p. 13: "Mrs. (Ronald) Reagan broke into tears when Navy Commander Charles E. Southwick . . . gave her a spoon from the prisoner of war camp . . . ."
Navy Lcdr David J. Carey gave a poem which he had written in French during captivity and had framed to his fiancée, Miss Karen Louise Nelson, as a Bridegroom's gift at a dinner, May 4, 1973.

165. Manual, p. 49.

166. Ibid.

167. Ibid., p. 10; and supra, pp. 33f.

168. Manual, p. 49. Cf. supra, p. 85 and n. 162.

169. Supra, p. 85 and n. 157.

170. Manual, p. 50.

171. E.g., Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 30, 1973 (in response to Appendix A: "Interview with the Returnee," Area XVI, Question 1): "I miss being able to just talk freely with other people as brothers . . . ."

172. Supra, p. 82 and n.s 127 and 128; and Manual, pp. 49f.

173. Manual, p. 47.

174. Ibid., p. 50.

175. Ibid.

176. See Manual, p. 19; and supra, p. 51 and n. 10.

177. Observations from pastoral care experiences of the Author.

178. Paul Recer, "Moon-Walker's Story of his Mental Breakdown," Oakland Tribune, Sept. 17, 1973, p. 1: "(Apollo 11 astronaut Edwin E. Aldrin, Jr., Air Force Col. retired) said he was unable to cope with the sudden loss from his life of some major goal or objective. Aldrin said (after his return from being the second man to walk the moon) he sank into a mental depression that threatened his marriage, crippled his military career and required hospitalization."

179. Observations from pastoral care experiences of the Author.

180. Manual, p. 50, 57; supra, p. 72, and n.s 18-21,23.

181. Manual, p. 49f; supra, p. 83.

182. Manual, p. 50; also see p. 44.
Cf., Manual, pp. 4f.

183. Supra, p. 72.

184. Manual, p. 50.

185. E.g., Manual, p. 31. Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973: "We would test resolves made in solitary in the cell groups, with the hope that they would work when we got back home,"

186. Manual, p. 68-72.

187. Manual, p. 52. The Author observed negative reactions of Returnees to "silly remarks" by others in various social and formal occasions during April and May of 1973.

188. Manual, p. 52.

189. Ibid., p. 51.

Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973: "Entertainment included Hillbilly and Country and Western-type programs. We would tell stories, and we probably told every joke under the sun." Movies were "told" on Saturday nights (see Manual, p. 12).

190. Manual, pp. 50f; also e.g.:
Lt "A," interview, Apr. 25, 1973 (quoted in the Manual, p. 50): "I got a big kick out of watching the guards humiliate themselves . . . ."
Albert D. Biderman, March to Calumny: The Story of American POW's in the Korean War (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963) p. 59: "A danger in much of the Army's program for indoctrinating troops to resist Communist indoctrination is that it may lead future prisoners to take a stiff and somber attitude where they should be drawing on their vast reserves of humor and ridicule. The military frequently attempts to force its men to behave in a GI manner at times when it would be better advised to capitalize on the way GI's behave."

191. Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 30, 1973: "There was a lot of ribbing going on. It might sound strange, but I think it was another thing that developed our solidarity."

192. Manual, p. 51.
Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973: "But most of the humor was associated in kidding another individual . . . . It assisted in the development of a shell, a degree of toughness . . . . Or you could do something wrong like spill your soup a little. 'Oh, nice going there, what's your next trick?' or, 'Look, it's a Polish luau.' You developed a coarseness about the whole thing so that these little things wouldn't bother you."
Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 30, 1973: "During the health improvement program for release (sweet-milk was dispensed by the Vietnamese) and a banana would appear (unexpectedly) on a bunk. Guys would say: 'If the banana fairy comes by, my bunk is open!' One guy, in respect to the bananas . . . would leave his cup out, and somebody would slip a banana peel in there. And he wanted to know who did it, (but) it just continued. He realized that he was getting a little disturbed about it. It was just another expression of this humor."
"(Kidding) made us rather cynical at times, but in our group it developed our maturity. If you didn't have the ability to laugh at yourself, you certainly acquired it."

193. Manual, pp. 51f.

194. Ibid., p. 51, which refers to Grotjahn, Laughter, p. 17: "Freud formulated the psychodynamics of comic pleasure with the words: 'He does it this way--I do it differently--he does it just as I did it when I was a child.'
Also, p. 17: "In the comic situation the victim is usually deprived of authority and dignity. This gives the onlooker a

feeling of superiority."
Petty Officer "G," interview, Sept. 21, 1972: This interviewee's skillful use of humor revealed in numerous stories of his captivity led the Author to suspect that a contributing factor in his selection by the enemy for early release was their inability to cope with his use of humor."
E.g., Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973 (quoted in Manual, p. 50): "Does the moon shine in the United States? . . . ."

195. Manual, p. 51; see Grotjahn, Laughter, pp. 16-21.
Cf., Manual, p. 44, and supra, p. 77 and n. 80; also p. 80 and n. 110.

196. Manual, p. 51; and supra, p. 80, n. 81, and p. 88, n. 192.

197. E.g., Manual, pp. 4f.
Intellectualization of feelings can be accommodated through humor. (Grotjahn, Laughter, pp. 20f, deals with the victory of humor over the demands of reality.)

198. Grotjahn, Laughter, p. 11: "Aggressive wit gives us a new way of admitting dangerous aggression to our consciousness--but it has to be done in cleverly disguised form."

199. Supra, pp. 71f.
Cf., Manual, p. 52; also see pp. 11-15.

200. Manual, pp. 11f.
"POWs 'Forced' Torture," San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 31, 1973, p. 10: "The worst treatment was reserved for senior officers . . . ."
Supra, p. 72 and n. 17.

201. This comment is based on general observations from the media. Special respect is shown toward "long-haulers" by other Returnees and is seemingly expected by them.
Also see Miller, "Dilemmas," pp. 8-11.

202. U.S., Department of the Navy, United States Navy and Marine Corps Awards Manual (Washington, D.C.: Secretary of the Navy Instruction 1650.1D), p. 4-17; and U.S., Department of the Navy, "Designation of Additional Campaigns in Viet Nam Operations," (Washington, D.C.: Secretary of the Navy Note 1650, Sept. 24, 1973): The Viet Nam campaign was divided into 17 dated periods based upon the operational and strategic characteristics of each, and appropriately named.

203. "The Transcript," Navy Times, Apr. 18, 1973, p. 30: "(Navy Capt. Wendell B.) Rivers: I went over my dates every morning for four hours for four years, and I find it very easy to pull them out of my head nowadays."
Manual, p. 54: POWs are described as those "who learned to 'keep their calendars in their heads.'"

204. Navy Lcdr Read B. McCleary, conversation, May 5, 1973: He described at length the Hanoi March and such effects of it upon prisoner treatment as are described in Manual, p. 53: "Period B."
"Transcript," Navy Times, p. 5: "(Navy Lcdr Everett) Alvarez (Jr.): They used various methods starting in the middle of 1966, such as sitting on a stool for long periods of time. I went four or five days at a time with no sleep, little food and constant harassment."
(It may be observed that these methods of torture are designed to induce pain but to leave no scars or apparent disfigurement.)
Supra, n. 65: Lt "A" described maneuvers of captors to court favor of American people. This occurred within "Period B" described in the Manual, p. 53.

205. "Transcript," Navy Times, p. 5: "Rivers: . . . our treatment picked up in 1969, in October, following the death of Ho Chi Minh. The torture was very intermittent and not too often conducted after that time. The food was somewhat better."
P. 30: "(Marine Lt. Col. John H.) Dunn: Approximately . . . at the end of 1969 they offered everyone an opportunity (to write a letter), almost everybody."
Lcdr "C," interview, Mar. 28, 1973: "Beginning in 1970 everything changed. We took a survey of 382 of the old guys. 95% had been tortured (before that).
The Returnees saw changes in prisoner handling occur at the time of Ho's death, and this was commonly seen as the determining factor. Other influences which they were not able to assess when interviewed soon after return were the effects upon world opinion and diplomatic influences resulting from the activities of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, popular opinion and massive letter-writing campaigns to North Viet Nam and to "third party nations," the facts revealed by the early Returnees, and actions by the Department of Defense.

206. Lcdr "C," interview, Apr. 3, 1973: "After the Son Tay raid, we were pushed into large groups in the Hilton."
"Transcript," Navy Times, p. 30: "Rivers: In the late months of 1970, the large majority of American prisoners were moved together into one compound of HoaLo prison, which is commonly known as the Hanoi Hilton. And for the first time during our captivity, all of us were together in the compound. . . . after the Son Tay rescue attempt in November of 1970, within 48 hours, they had moved every American prisoner I know of within the city limits of Hanoi, I think, to avoid future rescue attempts."

207. Manual, pp. 53f.

208. Manual, p. 54; and supra, p. 42.

Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 30, 1973: "The group" pertained to those individuals, say the 99% of us, that were enduring this as we should have done."
Douglas B. Hegdahl (Navy Seaman when captured, promoted to Postal Clerk Second Class before discharge) was ordered by authorities in the "rank structure" of POWs to accept early release. He is therefore in a unique position in regard to the group of "Early Returnees."

209. Manual, p. 55.

210. Ibid.; see supra, p. 43.
Manual, p. 12, suggests the possibility of enlisting "the aid of a brother Returnee for one to whom he ministers," and although this might be met with resistance, it would provide honest dialogue if not reconciliation.

211. Appendix A; "Interview with the Returnee," Area VIII, Question 1, met with no spontaneous negative replies regarding friendly authority. This statement is based upon speculation by the Author, and upon Miller, "Dilemmas," p. 9f: "Perhaps some of the greatest conflicts arose when orders emanated from the prisoner who was senior in rank but not senior in prison experience."

212. An obvious example of the difference in the two structures is suggested, yet without any intention of stating that any conflict exists in this case: Navy Lcdr Everett Alvarez, Jr., the longest held in North Viet Nam, was a very junior officer at the time of capture.

213. Manual, p. vi.

214. Ibid., p. 1; supra, pp. 29f and n. 4.

215. Appendix A: "Interview with the Returnee," Area VIII, Questions 1 and 2.
Cf., supra, n. 211.

216. Manual, pp. 11f.

CHAPTER 8

"V. THE POW AND HIS RELIGION"

The theology of liberation, which has been the subject of current interest in areas of race[1] and emerging nations,[2] has never been more relevant to any experience than to that of the plight of POWs in Indo-China and of loved ones separated from them who shared their sojourn.[3] In an age in which delayed gratification[4] has become almost intolerable to the Western mind (which has resisted it by technology, credit, and drugs[5]) this captivity confronted this entire culture with a dilemma. The efforts and skills that man could muster from his own resources were of but limited value if principle was not to be ignored.[6] Moses committed his people to an Exodus, and his followers achieved a Conquest. The resources available to POWs and their families; and the confrontations with human frailty[7] and the doubts and murmurings still debated as to the righteousness of a biblical cause will similarly continue to trouble consciences in regard to this captivity and its cause.[8]

Those whose lives were directly affected by imprisonment, uncertainty and separation found new or renewed resources in religious faith,[9] and pragmatic justification for prayer.[10] Out of this struggle, God was observed by POWs in natural ways[11] "with the fresh awareness of childhood," and the church was experienced

as a survival-based community[12] without artificial internal divisions.[13] The concept of "secularization" is relevant[14] in that it can be observed that a community with religious significance can be identified in POW life that evolved as spontaneously as did religious experience. Homiletics became a source of power,[15] and old forms of worship took on new meaning as men hungered for them.[16]

Institutional worship was provided by the enemy,[17] and the Manual suggests this may be a source of conflict upon return.[18] Problems with the assimilation of the Returnee into the religious community at home are suggested and dealt with in the Manual.[19] A corporate rather than an individual approach that singles out the Returnee is a theme that runs through the suggestions for assimilation.[20] The relationships of the integration of the Returnee into the religious community to that of reintegration into the family[21] and into the culture[22] are also suggested. The Chaplain is seen as potentially a special person in relation to these processes,[23] especially as a trust-builder.[24] Concerns over changes in the accepted morality standards in the homeland culture were voiced by Returnees,[25] and prophetic[26] and involvement activities[27] sought by Returnees were discussed and related to religious motivation[28] as well as to a motivation resulting from prolonged captivity.[29] Guidance by the Chaplain was suggested by which he may help to bring positive results from such motivations.[30] Skills in leadership[31] and interpersonal relationships[32] were related to recent developments in these fields in the Navy which emphasize the dignity and responsibility of persons and the importance of human goals.[33]

Such matters are included in this section of the Manual, affirming their religious significance.

Some went to war in Indo-China out of blind obedience,[34] some went because of conscience,[35] while others objected because of conscience.[36] In the first case, faith was placed in higher authority at the cost of relinquishing individual responsibility, thereby subtly contributing to totalitarianism.[37] In the second case, faith was placed in leadership by the exercise of individual responsibility;[38] while in the third case, faith was withheld from military leadership and placed in another cause by choice. Responsibility for placement of faith according to the latter choice could take the form of claiming the role of Conscientious Objector or of accepting the jeopardy of becoming an outlaw. The former choice involved an acceptance of the possibility of the risks of combat and capture. The POW who changed his mind after capture found himself obviously tardy, to say the least, and thus unable to claim the benefits of Conscientious Objector exemptions.[39] But the cost of freedom always entails duty and obligations of responsibility; and freedom of choice and the freedom to believe requires no less.[40] Guilt was also assumed in the exercise of conscience because the perfection of either available responsible choice was subject to doubt.[41]

The Returnees and their families are now faced with the decision to seek to justify the sacrifices made or the outrage experienced,[42] or to accept a present state of satisfaction and compensation. The nation is faced with a similar decision.[43] The ideological controversy seen according to a religious dimension invokes the judgment of God upon the decisions of men. That

judgment, however, is not to be sought in religious authority, but in faith--which is man's sole guide to wholeness.[44]

The Manual asserts that God's gift of human life is to be identified with the "Will to Freedom."[45] This life-force compels man toward survival as opposed to death,[46] toward personal growth[47] as opposed to regression,[48] toward self-worth[49] and human dignity[50] as opposed to being deserving of pain and sorrow[51] and incapable of responsibility.[52] This life-force compels man to community-building as opposed to isolation,[53] and this is seen as a factor in both his physical[54] and psychic survival.[55]

When the prisoner was deprived of every tangible source of motivation, of activity, when he was isolated from humanity, its traditions, values and dignity, when he was prohibited from the exercise of choice (except whether or not to eat and how to think), an inner and spiritual Source of motivation to live, to grow, and to seek freedom was experienced.[56] This motivation kept alive the hope[57] of freedom, which kept the struggle for freedom alive and gave life meaning.[58] Initiative was expressed,[59] resistance was exerted against impossible odds.[60] This was true for both husband and wife, and for family members.

As men learned great lessons about their own self-worth,[61] they found that human dignity had new meanings. In an age in which machines become more like humans, the long captivity, deprivation, brainwashing and the separation experience has reaffirmed the knowledge that men cannot, indeed <u>will</u> not become more like machines.[62] The "Will to Freedom" will not allow this so long as there is life. The loss of the "Will to Freedom" is the beginning of death.[63]

The "Will to Freedom" compels men to join together.[64] The captivity experience has shown that life depends upon this. To stay alive, men communicated with each other,[65] shared each other's guilt and each other's victories,[66] and broke the barriers to brotherhood.[67] To stay alive, men dreamed of home, clung to the image of loved ones and the hope of their loyalty; men daydreamed of past relationships and learned from them, and daydreamed of the future[68] and practiced and planned for it.[69] The future held hopes of reunion with family in repatriation, of the church in ecumenical unity,[70] and with God in life or in death.[71]

Waiting wives and families also experienced the "Will to Freedom" as one with life.[72] Because of it, they could not break the family relationship without experiencing mourning.[73] Because of the "Will to Freedom" they could not accept their own freedom until the loved one in captivity could find liberation in repatriation, or in a death--real or imagined--which they had come to accept.[74] Thus wives found personal liberation as they moved world history to liberate their husbands.[75]

Many of the men who returned from prisons of war now live to free others through education and understanding,[76] leadership[77] and involvement.[78] Their return brought joy to a welcoming nation.[79] The resolutions made in captivity[80] now confront the realities of freedom with the life-force of the "Will to Freedom."

These men, women, and children "fought for peace. They have it now. Is it enough?"[81] For each one, if it is accepted, the "Will to Freedom" will unfold His[82] sufficiency, His meaning, and His life. The same strength known by them in the past remains ever available

in the future. It can be symbolized by the POW salutation: "G.B.U."[83]

DOCUMENTATION

1. E.g., Major J. Jones, "A Theology of Hope for the Black Community," in Religion for a New Generation, ed. by Jacob Needleman, A.K. Bierman, and James A. Gould (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973, pp. 142-154;
Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, trans, by Constance Farrington, Evergreen Black Cat Books (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1968);
also of general concern for the entire subject, John M. Swomley, Jr., Liberation Ethics, Macmillan Company, 1972).

2. E.g., Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, trans. by Myra Bergman Ramos, Continuum Books (New York: Seabury Press, 1973);
Gustavo Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation, trans. and ed. by Caridad Inda and John Eagleson (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1973);
and background material in Eric R. Wolf, Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973).

3. Manual, p. 67f; cf. p. 70.

4. See Roy W. Fairchild, "Delayed Gratification: A Psychological and Religious Analysis," in Research on Religious Development: A Comprehensive Handbook, ed. by Merton P. Strommen (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1971), p. 158.

5. David J. Schwartz, M.D., lecture at Institute for Social Concerns, Oakland, Calif., Sept. 23, 1972; also see Helen H. Nowlis, Drugs on the College Campus, Anchor Books (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1969), pp. 26-31.

William H. Sheldon, Psychology and the Promethean Will (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1936), p. 218: "Discouragement is the death of the soul, and it lurks always in the path of an overstimulated mind. People turn away from the awful question they find in their own souls. It seems too vital for them . . . and they try to escape by shouting it down, by making a noise, by keeping busy, by turning on the radio, by anything."
Cf., Manual, p. 6f.

6. Manual, p. 70: "It was not a deliverance by merit . . . ."
The POWs resisted as they could, and efforts, such as those by the National League of Families of Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia and local concern groups, were directed toward the government and world diplomatic circles. Nonetheless, liberation was beyond the control of those whose lives were directly effected by the captivity.
Faith as exercised by the POWs and families separated from them was primarily placed in liberation rather than in confrontation,

even though confrontation was exercised.
Cf., Herbert W. Richardson, Toward an American Theology (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1967), pp. 35-46.
Regarding "principle," see infra, p. 122 and n.s 40, 41.

7. Some "turned-back" by disavowing the cause, some by "breaking with the sojourners" by divorce, and some died "along the way." Many were broken but revived and continued.

8. Chaplain "M," interview, Apr. 2, 1973 (quoted in the Manual, p. 64).

9. Typical of statements by Returnees is that of Lt "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973 (quoted in the Manual, p. 57).
Navy Capt Charles R. Gillespie, appointed "Chaplain" of the Fourth Composite Allied Wing in Hanoi, address to Chaplains, Naval Training Center, San Diego, Oct. 31, 1973, testified for 90 minutes as to the place of faith in the captivity experience for himself and others.

See Appendix A, "Interview with the Returnee," Areas IV and XIII.
The quotation from the Manual, p. 57: Viktor E. Frankl, Man's Search for Meaning, Pocket Books (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1971), p. 59.
Also see supra, p. 72 and n.s 18-23.

10. Comments on prayer in captivity and the prayer that appears in Manual, p. 58 were contributed by Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 3, 1973.

11. Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 3, 1973 (quoted in Manual, p. 57).
Cf., Manual, p. 61.
Vergilius Ferm, ed., An Encyclopedia of Religion (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945), p. 518: "Natural Theology: It is that knowledge of God obtained by observing the visible processes of nature."

12. Manual, pp. 12f. Cf., supra, p. 42, and n.s 21, 22. See infra, n. 16.

13. An ecumenical spirit was generated by the very nature of the struggle for corporate religious expression in captivity.
See Manual, p. 70; cf., p. 12 and p. 59.
Also see supra, p. 40, n. 4.
Howard Rutledge and Phyllis Rutledge, In the Presence of Mine Enemies, 1965-1973: A Prisoner of War (Old Tappan, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1973), p. 80: "We worshiped regularly in Rawhide in spite of barriers of brick and cement; in fact, we even formed a choir with individual members separated by their cells. . . . we were all denominations. All the things that could have divided us didn't matter in Building Zero."

14. Throughout the Manual, religious experience has been identified in the captivity and separation experiences, and particularly in the communal dimension. The Manual (pp. 14f) implies this in regard to the life of the military unit, and (on p. 13) this is stated in regard to the POW community. The compulsion to involvement in causes of social and political betterment (Manual, p. 66; supra, pp. 41f and n.s 13, 21) are perceived as potentially divinely inspired. It is the contention of the Author that even without section V of the Manual and this final chapter of the dissertation, that this study would still be basically a theological study (see Manual, p. iii), and therein it claims to be an example of the theological concept of "secularization."

Richardson, American Theology, p. 108: "In American secularization, religion ceases to exist as a separate phenomenon because it seeks to embody itself fully in the state, science, business, and other worldly institutions by identifying its concerns wholly with theirs."

Robert N. Bellah, Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973) p. 186: "Behind the civil religion at every point lie biblical archetypes: Exodus, Chosen People, Promised Land, New Jerusalem, and Sacrificial Death and Rebirth. But it is also genuinely new. It has its own prophets and its own martyrs, its own sacred events and sacred places, its own solemn rituals and symbols."

Friedrich Gogarten, Despair and Hope for our Time, trans. by Thomas Wieser (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1970), pp. 1-7; 67-79. P. 79: "Secularization is therefore intimately related to justification by faith alone, and in the form in which it corresponds to faith it is not something which took place once and for all in the past but, like faith, it has to take place time and again."

15. Manual, p. 59; supra, p. 75 and n. 63.

16. Manual, p. 59: Information about Sunday Divine Services is largely derived from Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 4, 1973, except the quotation mentioned supra, n. 15. The details of "Church Call" (Manual, p. 58) were contributed by Lcdr "C," interview, Apr. 3, 1973, by Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973, and by Lt "E," interview, Apr. 23, 1973; and this represents corporate worship before groups were allowed to assemble. The struggle for such assembly is alluded to in the Manual, pp. 42f, and p. 59, and was related by Capt Gillespie, address, Oct. 31, 1973. The North Vietnamese feared prisoner-led worship because they supposed it to be political indoctrination and thus resistance-oriented. It continued in cell groups. The objections of the prison authorities sparked an incident on Feb. 7, 1971 called the "Church Riot." This is documented in Howard Rutledge and Phyllis Rutledge, In the Presence of Mine Enemies, 1965-1973: A Prisoner of War (Old Tappan, N.J. : Fleming H.

Revell Company, 1973), pp. 77ff.
Manual, pp. 53f: "Period D," explains why cell group worship services could take place.

17. Manual, pp. 60f; much of this information was documented by Ldr "B," interview, Apr. 17, 1973.

18. Manual, pp. 60f; cf., supra, pp. 79f and n.s 102, 103.
Cf., the spontaneous and primitive urge to worship compared with Exile and catacomb worship, Manual, p. 59.

19. Manual, pp. 61ff, 66f. Emphasis is placed upon the hope that religious experience and leadership expressed in captivity not be lost to the religious community at home. Avenues of lay leadership, such as Chalice-bearer, Lay Leader, Lector, the perpetual Diaconate, the newly popular "worker priest" concept in many churches implied as being relevant to Returnees who found new meanings in religion leadership in prison. The reassertion of the traditional Jewish lay leadership of the adult male presence in home and synagogue is seen as an expression of a good reunion adjustment taking place.
Cf., Sue Toma, "The POWs One Year Later, Navy Times, Feb. 27, 1974, p. 13: "(Air Force) Capt Robert G. Certain is studying for the ministry and will become an AF Chaplain upon graduation."

20. See Manual, p. 14: regarding the suggestions made to the Chaplain in relation to the "rankless" aspect of homecoming.
Dr. Orne (quoted supra, p. 54, n. 59) indicated that the Returnee not be protected from the realities of return. This should also include the requirements or canons of his church (see Manual, p. 61).

21. E.g., Manual, p. 62.

22. Ibid., pp. 65f.
E.g., Manual, p. 65: New liturgical expressions are described as expressions of a changing ethos among the American people.
E.g., Ldr "B," interview, Apr. 4, 1973: "I had communion soon after I stepped off the aircraft at Clark (A.F. Base, Philippines). The service had all changed from my memory, all new words. Why is that?"
Kathryn Johnson, "POWs Kept Alert in Hanoi Hilton," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 17, 1973, p. 8-E: "What has been the biggest shock . . . ? 'American society,' said Mrs. Mulligan (wife of Navy Capt James A. Mulligan, Jr.). 'As a whole, it's changed. The mood of our country is different. And the changes in the Catholic church . . . Jim's had an opportunity to go to Mass . . . and he's talked with a couple of chaplains.' What most surprised Mulligan about his church, she said,were the changes in the Roman Catholic liturgy from Latin in to English."

"2251 Days," K.Q.E.D. (San Francisco) telecast, Sept. 18, 1973: "The Beak Comes Home": included reactions to a Roman Catholic folk Mass, the increased number of communicating worshippers and the new community spirit among the people.

Assimilation back into the society of the homeland is a major cultural factor in the integration of the Returnee into the religious community. See Toma, "One Year Later," p. 13: "(Navy Cdr John S. McCain, III, said) he rapidly got over his initial feeling of being comfortable only around other POWs."

23. Manual, pp. ii, vi.

Martin T. Orne, M.D., Comments to the National League of Families of Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, Washington, D.C., Sept. 27, 1971, (Mimeographed), pp. 14f: "In my own view, the best thing that can happen, is if you follow the model of the sponsor which exists in the military already so that if you could get an officer who would be an appropriate person--personnel officer, medical officer, there are a lot of officers who are in this general area. This officer could be assigned to the family now, not when the man returns, but now. He could get to know the family thoroughly now so that when the man returns, he would be the person to help debrief that particular man and he would be a sort of intermediary to help him both with the Service and with the family in getting back into things. . . . If he were a doctor, that would be very helpful. However, it is more important that he be the kind of person who has a certain amount of experience in dealing with the problems, since there will be family problems, there will be children, there will be all kinds of issues which will arise. I think it be crucial that the person be acceptable to the family . . . ." (It is of interest that the function of the Navy Chaplain is described, but that he is not mentioned.)

24. Manual, p. 3, 13f, 56, 61; and supra, p. 30.

25. Lcdr "C," interview, Mar. 28, 1973 (quoted in Manual, p. 66; also interview, Apr. 3, 1973; and Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 3, 1973.

Cf., Stefan Kanfer, "The Returned: A New Rip Van Winkle," Time, Feb. 19, 1973, pp. 31f: a thorough summary of changes in the expression of morality in America that appear as new and sudden to the Returnees.

26. Manual, p. 66 (much of which was based upon Lcdr "C," interviews, Mar. 28, 1973 and Apr. 3, 1973. Also see supra, ch. 7: "Debriefing as a Process."

27. Manual, pp. 6f; also supra, p. 41 and n. 13; and p. 75 and n. 61.

Returnee's wives have identified a problem in reintegration to be a conflict between speaking engagements and public appearances and home obligations (see supra, p. 55, n. 66: Carlson, "The POWs Now").

28. Manual, pp. 66, 69f.

29. Manual, p. 41; also supra, p. 75 and n.61.

30. Manual, pp. 66f; cf., pp. 4f.

31. Manual, p. 71.

32. Manual, pp. 31f; supra, p. 40 and n. 3.

33. Manual, p. 71.
See U.S., Department of the Navy, "CNO Sitrep Five: 'Leadership is the Key,'" film, Washington, D.C.: Chief of Naval Information, No. MN-11046 E; and
"The Man who Changed the Navy," N.B.C. telecast, Feb. 5, 1974. Narrator, Steve Delaney: outlined innovations of Navy Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., Chief of Naval Operations: "It's hard to get used to leadership by pulling instead of pushing." "The Navy is demanding that its Captains be human beings instead of just authority figures." "All these things were jolts for the traditional Navy."

34. Lt "A," interview, Apr. 15, 1972: said many went "without knowing or thinking about why."

35. E.g., Peter Arnett, "143 Arrive at Base in Philippines," Oakland Tribune, Feb. 12, 1973, p. 1: Navy Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton, Jr., first off the plane, said: "We are honored at the opportunity to serve our country under difficult circumstances . . . ."
Lcdr "C," interview, Mar. 28, 1973 (quoted in the Manual, p. 63): "There was bitterness over the internment. The war ended too late. If it had been pursued, we would not have been there. We should have done it and ended it. We had to do it; but if it had ended earlier, we would not have been there."
Lcdr "B," interview, Apr. 30, 1973 (quoted in the Manual, p. 64): "My doubts (about the war) were removed when I saw the blank stares on the faces of the people and their lack of desire for life. They have no goals for the future. They are like animals in a cage. That system has to stop somewhere. I don't want Communism for this country or for my children."
Richardson, American Theology, p. 44: "In war, faith expects and works for peace."

36. E.g., Seymour M. Hersh, "War Critics among POWs," San Francisco Chronicle, Mar. 16, 1973, p. 18: "According to a 1971 tape recording, an Air Force staff sargeant John Young (in Hanoi) . . . told President Nixon: 'I no longer want to fight for you, or anyone like you. . . . My conscience tells me it is wrong to kill--the Bible tells me it is wrong. Most important, my mother and father have taught me that it is wrong to kill or harm anyone.'"
"Ex-POW 'Believed in' Anti-War Talk," Oakland Tribune, Apr. 2, 1973, p. 2: "Navy Capt. Walter Eugene Wilber says the anti-war statements he made while a prisoner of war in North Vietnam were from his conscience."

"Navy POW Tells How he Took Anti-War Stand," San Francisco Chronicle, Apr. 2, 1973, p. 8: review of Navy Capt. Wilber's appearance on "60 Minutes," C.B.S. telecast, Apr. 1, 1973. " . . . Wilber denied he made (a speech over Radio Hanoi urging an early end to the war) to get better treatment. . . . Wilber said his change of mind about the war began while he was in solitary. 'I am a Christian,' he said. 'I love my country very much. I found my conscience bothered me very much.'"

37. Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom, Discus Books (New York: Avon Books, 1972), p. 45: "Impulses arise to give up one's individuality, to overcome the feeling of aloneness and powerlessness by completely submerging oneself in the world outside." Also, p. 19f: "'The serious,threat to our democracy;' (John Dewey) says, 'is not the existence of foreign totalitarian states. It is the existence within our own personal attitudes and within our own institutions of conditions which have given a victory to external authority, discipline, uniformity and dependence upon The Leader in foreign countries. The battlefield is also accordingly here--within ourselves and our institutions.'"
Cf., supra, p. 75 and Manual, p. 41.

38. This is the identified goal of leadership emphasized by Adm. Zumwalt in the U.S. Navy (see supra, n. 33). Implications of such goals in the exercise of ministry and religious education are discussed supra, pp. 75f.

39. Supra, p. 42, n.s 21,22. U.S., Department of the Navy, Bureau of Naval Personnel Manual,(Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Naval Personnel, NAVPERS 15791B): Article 1860120, "Conscientious Objectors in the Navy."

40. Manual, p. 68.
Dietrich Bonhoeffer, The Cost of Discipleship, trans. by R. H. Fuller, Macmillan Paperbacks (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1970), p. 74: This theologian links faith and obedience thusly: "'Only those who believe obey' is what we say to that part of a believer's soul which obeys, and 'only those who obey believe' is what we say to that part of the soul of the obedient which believes. If the first half of the proposition stands alone, the believer is exposed to the danger of cheap grace, which is another word for damnation. If the second half stands alone, the believer is exposed to the danger of salvation through works, which is another word for damnation."

41. Ibid., pp. 63f;
Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Ethics, ed. by Eberhard Bethge, transl. by Neville Horton Smith, Macmillan Paperbacks (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969) p. 242: "Conscience comes from a depth which lies beyond a man's own will and his own reason and it makes itself heard as the call of human existence to unity with

itself. Conscience comos as an indictment of the loss of this unity and as a warning against the loss of one's self. Primarily it is directed not towards a particular kind of doing but towards a particular mode of being. It protests against a doing which imperils the unity of this being with itself."

Stephen F. Bayne, Jr., Christian Living (Greenwich, Conn.: Seabury Press, 1957), pp. 10f: "In reality, manhood is born in this awareness of the inescapable fact of choice. Sometimes we may resent it bitterly and curse the universe or the God who made us this way. We may even envy the beast and the uncomplicated, "natural" life it seems to lead, without either any apparent necessity of choice or possibility of remorse."

Viktor E. Frankl, The Will to Meaning: Foundations and Applications of Logotherapy, Plumb Books (New York: The New American Library, 1970), p. 70: "Conscience also has the power to discover unique meanings that contradict accepted values."

42. Manual, pp. 40f, and p. 64: The term "sacrifice trap" was contributed by Mr. Wayne L. Carpenter, a fellow M.A. student at the San Francisco Theological Seminary, 1972-3, currently at the Mental Research Institute, Palo Alto, Calif.

Lcdr "C," interview, Mar. 28, 1973 (quoted in Manual, p. 40): "I have a score to settle!" (Cf., supra, n. 34.)

43. Supra, p. 81: "(The POW) offers the American people the long awaited opportunity to identify a cruel enemy against whom warfare was justified."

44. Gogarten, Despair and Hope, p. 101: "For the partial wholeness for which man is to care in earthly history with his reasonable action and his decisions concerning the helpful and unhelpful, derives its meaning from the wholeness realized by God in his history with man and the world and received by man in faith alone."

P. 89: Ernst Troeltsch, Der Historismus und seine Probleme (Tubingen: 1922), pp. 164f is cited by Gogarten on p. 89: "'The flight to religious authorities is of no use,' since 'their constant divisions and changes are the living protest of history itself,' the previously quoted passage does not represent an answer to the problem of history, but a flight from it into something which is no longer history. . . . 'With this we have indeed arrived at the ultimate, the idea of God, which lies behind all thought as the somehow presupposed basis of all things.'"

The POW story is split by the ideological controversy over the Indo-China conflict. Representatives of both sides in this controversy appeal to religious authority for justification of their positions (Manual, p. 64). However, there is also evidence of the exercise of personal faith on both sides. The justification for the past can only be found in faith and

absolution, while meaning can only be found in life by taking responsibility in the pursuit of future growth as motivated by the "Will to Freedom."
Also see Manual, pp. 63f; and supra, n. 14.

45. Manual, p. 69; cf., p. 43.

46. Ibid., Albert D. Biderman, "Life and Death in Extreme Captivity Situations," in Psychological Stress: Issues in Research, ed. by M.H. Appley and R. Trumbull (New York: Appelton, Century and Crofts, 1967), p. 255: " . . . among all large groups subject to chronic, extreme deprivation, some proportion is reported as perishing because of the loss of 'the will to live,' rather than as a direct result of starvation or organic disease. The most common interpretation of such 'fatal surrender' . . . is that the behavior necessary for biological survival demands violations of cultural norms that are intolerable for the person. Many prisoners fail to survive because they fail to become deculturated and desocialized--because they choose not to live, rather than to live like animals."

47. Manual, p. 23: The "growth model" places no ceiling on human development.

48. Supra, n. 46; cf., supra, p. 71 and n. 5; p. 77, and n.s 81-84.

49. Manual, pp. 70f. See supra, pp. 71ff: the place of ego in identity.

50. Manual, p. 71; supra, p. 121 and n. 33; also infra, p. 123 and n. 62.

51. Manual, p. 70f.
Lcdr "C," interview, Apr. 3, 1973: contributed the term "refuse to deify suffering" (quoted in the Manual, p. 70). Returnees, according to the perception of the Author-Interviewer, saw themselves worthy of freedom, and suffering as something to be endured though undeserved. They made use of their afflictions to gain "character" and "maturity" (Lcdr "B," interviews, Apr. 3, 1973 and Apr. 17, 1973); but saw these afflictions resulting from inhumanity and as a "damned and potentially lethal nuisance" rather than as a divinely provided opportunity for personal growth or world reform.
The burden or "cross" borne by POWs can be seen as one belonging to the whole of mankind and the result of social sin with the hope of redemptive change; but no such concept was seen by the Returnees themselves in interviews or media reporting.
Cf., Viktor E. Frankl, Man's Search for Meaning: An Introduction to Logotherapy, Pocket Books (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1971), p. 104: " . . . the last of the human freedoms--to choose one's attitude in any given set of circumstances, to choose one's own way."

P. 105: "He may retain his human dignity even in a concentration camp. Dostoevski said once: 'There is only one thing that I dread: not to be worthy of my sufferings.' These words frequently came to my mind after I became acquainted with those martyrs whose behavior in camp, whose suffering and death, bore witness to the fact that the last inner freedom cannot be lost. It can be said that they were worthy of their sufferings; the way they bore their suffering was a genuine inner achievement. It is this spiritual freedom--which cannot be taken away--that makes life meaningful and purposeful."

Viktor E. Frankl, Psychotherapy and Existentialism: Selected Papers on Logotherapy, Touchstone Books (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), p. 88: "Pain, death, and guilt are inescapable; the more the neurotic tries to deny them, the more he entangles himself in additional suffering." Frankl does not say that one must get used to suffering in order not to deny it.

A distinction is suggested between an acceptance of the inevitability of suffering or its prerequisite for personal salvation and the demand for dignity and meaning in suffering that is encountered. The latter concept is in agreement with the observations upon which the Manual was based.

Viktor E. Frankl, Will to Meaning, p. 79: "(Suffering) can have a meaning if it changes you for the better."

Viktor E. Frankl, The Doctor and the Soul: From Psychotherapy to Logotherapy, trans. by Richard Winston and Clara Winston, Bantam Books (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1971), p. 85. " . . . human life can be fulfilled not only in creating and enjoying, but also in suffering."

Prisoners endured suffering because it was necessary. By so doing they stayed alive to express freedom from its limitations and with the hope of creating and enjoying freedom in the future (see Manual, p. 70).

52. Manual, pp. 70f, and p. 43; also supra, pp. 76-79.

53. Manual, p. 11; supra, pp. 40f.

54. Supra, p. 78 and n. 94. However, negative effects upon chances for survival of the ill resulting from isolation can be but speculation.

55. E.g., Manual, p. 68; supra, p. 82 and n. 132. Also see supra, p. 42 and n. 29; p. 74 and n.s 42, 43.

56. Page references in this note are taken from Viktor E. Frankl, Will to Meaning. The void endured by POWs can be identified with an "existential vacuum" (p. 83). They were deprived of the opportunity to manipulate their environment or determine their futures (in any major way), they were isolated from stimuli with significant educational potential, and through prolonged solitary confinement they were stripped of the external of human traditions. Yet the vacuum between tradition and values (pp. 83, 85) was filled with the will to

grow, the will to overcome these limitations. This demand for growth and freedom was met with both the drive and the meaning (p. 43), and the self-transcendence that is beyond self-actualization (p. 38). This demand for growth opened the eyes of the prisoner to his self-worth and to the meaning of his life--a meaning which exists in the life of each human (p. 156).

According to the theory upon which the Manual is based, without the "Will to Freedom," man may neither perceive nor accept his self-worth or the meaning of his life (supra, p. 76). The Manual asserts that "Will to Freedom" is the motivation for discovering and holding fast the meaning of life, and that this "Will to Freedom" is the endowment of the Source of Life to man. It can become the will of man because it is first the will of God, and is given to man by the Author of Freedom (see Manual, p. 70).

57. Manual, pp. 68, 71f. The biblical quotation on p. 72 was uttered by Air Force Col. David W. Winn.

58. Frankl, Will to Meaning, p. 75: "A human being, by the very attitude he chooses, is capable of finding and fulfilling meaning in even a hopeless situation."
The Manual affirms the divine Source of such positive attitudes (see supra, n. 56).

59. Supra, n. 52.

60. See Manual, p. 43f; also supra, n. 6.

61. Manual, p. 69; supra, p. 72 and n. 25.

62. Manual, p. 71.
Cf., Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963), p. 324: "Psychiatric enlightenment has begun to debunk the superstition that to manage a machine you must become a machine, and that to raise masters of the machine you must mechanize the impulses of childhood."
P. 325: "If man permits his ethics to depend on the machineries he can set in motion, forgetting to integrate childhood and society, he may find himself helplessly harnessed to the designs of total destruction along with those of total production."
Also see Erik H. Erikson, Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History, Norton Library (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1962), p. 114.
The Manual is based on the premise that man cannot become a machine and live, for the "Will to Freedom" demands human dignity. What Erikson implies, the Manual affirms.
Cf., supra, p. 75: "Dehumanized men reacted to become more human . . . ."

63. Manual, p. 69.

64. Supra, n. 53; also pp. 42f and n. 18.
Cf., Frankl, Will to Meaning, p. 98: "In the final analysis the existential vacuum is a paradox. If we only broaden our horizon we would notice that we enjoy our freedom, but we are not fully aware of our responsibility. . . . Thousands of years ago mankind developed monotheism. Today another step is due. I would call it monanthropism. Not the belief in the one God but rather the awareness of the one mankind, the awareness of the unity of humanity . . . ."

65. Manual, p. 11; supra, p. 40 and n. 1.

66. Supra, p. 42 and n. 21; p. 74 and n.s 42, 46, 47; and p. 80 and n. 115.

67. Supra, p. 40 and n.s 3, 4.

68. Manual, p. 68; also see p. 46.
Supra, pp. 81-85.

69. See infra, n. 80.

70. Manual, p. 13; see supra, p. 40 and n. 4; also supra, n. 13.
The theological approach taken in this writing is an ecumenical one, reflecting the attitude of the Returnees, and providing in the Manual a guide applicable to the ecumenical pastoral community of the Navy Chaplain Corps. This includes without compromise the theological position of the Author while avoiding terminology exclusive to one segment of the religious community.

71. Supra, p. 72 and n. 18.

72. Manual, pp. 69f.

73. Ibid., p. 69 and pp. 17-21; also supra, pp. 50f.

74. Manual, p. 69.

75. Ibid., p. 30; also see pp. 31-34.
Supra, pp. 53f and n.s 54, 55.

76. Manual, pp. 40f, 69f; supra, p. 75 and n. 62.

77. Manual, pp. 31f, 71; supra, n. 62.

78. Manual, pp. 41, 70; supra, n. 52.
E.g., Manual, p. 43, and supra, p. 41 and n. 13; p. 72 and n. 27.

79. "A Needed Tonic for America," Time, Mar. 19, 1973, pp. 19f.

80. Manual, pp. 31, 47; cf., p. 50.
Also see supra, pp. 74f and n. 60; p. 83 and n. 134; p. 87 and n. 185.

81. Supra, p. 8.

82. Supra, n. 45. This sentence is more specific than before, equating the "Will to Freedom" with the presence of God in the life of man.

83. Navy Capt Charles R. Gillespie, address, Oct. 31, 1973: explained the great encouragement that came from hearing the prison tap-coded message for "God bless you."

APPENDIXES

Appendix A

THE INTERVIEWS, PROCEDURES, AND SCHEDULES

The Interviews

INTERVIEWEE	TOTAL SESSIONS	PRIVATE MEETING	CONJOINT WITH SPOUSE/FIANCEE	CONJOINT WITH CHILDREN	TAPE RECORDED	WRITTEN NOTES TAKEN
LT "A"	2*	2p	2p	1	X	X
Mrs. "A"	2	2p	2p	1	X	X
LCDR "B"	3	3			X	X
LCDR "C"	3	1	2			X
CDR "D"	2		2		X	
Mrs. "D"	2		2		X	
LT "E"	1		1		X	X
Mrs. "E"	1		1		X	X
Miss "F"	2	1p	2			C

Interviews were arranged as single or multi-encounter, privately or conjointly, in accord with the wishes of the Interviewees.

All interviews took place between March 28, 1973 and April 30, 1973, with one exception; but the questions were designed for more extended application.

* - These interviews were held exactly one year apart (April 15, 1972 and April 25, 1973).

p - Part of the session was private and part was a conjoint meeting.

C - Notes taken during conjoint meeting only.

Procedures

"Area" titles or headings were not revealed to Interviewees in the interview.

Upon request of the Interviewees, questions were to be repeated. Slight rewording could be allowed, and certain choices for careful rewordings are suggested in parentheses. Further clarification was to be purposely left for the Interviewee in order to provide opportunity to observe what choices would be made in the interpretation, and with what facility or emotion the choices were made.

In the case of time limitations, crucial questions are marked (*) for the Interviewer.

General Instructions to be given to each Interviewee at the beginning:

a. This is not a psychological test.
b. This is an endeavor to gather information which will assist Chaplains in their ministry to Returnees and Families.
c. This is not official, and is entirely voluntary.
d. One can refuse to deal with any line of questioning by saying so.
e. A question may be set aside on request and dealt with later.
f. The amount of time available to the Interviewee for the interview is determined in advance.
g. Answers that are Confidential or Classified must be identified.
h. The purpose of requesting information about captivity is to search for things that will be helpful upon return.
i. Permission to record the interview is requested.

Matters of which the Interviewer should be constantly aware during the interview:

a. What is your reaction to the Interviewee?
b. Is the Interviewee tired?
c. Is the session getting "too heavy"?
d. Is there a need to ask: "Is there something you would like to talk about for a while?"
e. Is it time for a rest?
f. Would it be best to stop, suggest another meeting?

Schedules

INTERVIEW WITH THE RETURNEE

AREA I: INFORMATION

1. Name.
2. Rank (before and after POW).
3. Age.
4. Race.
5. How long back?
6. Time in captivity.
7. Detained in North or South Viet Nam? Elsewhere?
8. Educational level: (HS 1-4) (College 1-4) (PG work?)
9. Military Occupation.

AREA II: INTERVIEWING PROCEDURE

1. How do you feel about being asked for interviews?
2. What are the easiest things to deal with in interviews?
3. What are the most difficult to deal with; what would you want to avoid talking about?

AREA III: ARRIVAL

* 1. What were your first impressions about Homecoming?
2. What did you make of all this; how did you interpret the meaning of Homecoming?
3. What does "POW" mean to you? (the term)

AREA IV: SELF-IMAGE

1. Do you see yourself as different now? In what way?

AREA V: DEPRIVATION (LOSS)

* 1. What were you deprived of in (prison) camp?
* 2. What did these losses do to you? (How did you handle?)
* 3. What did you particularly long for?
4. How did you deal with these longings?
5. Have you plans for recovering some of those losses now? How?

AREA VI: USE OF TIME

* 1. How did you occupy your time? How proportioned, budgeted?

AREA VII: USE OF MIND -- MENTAL ACTIVITY

1. How did you occupy your mind?
2. What did you need for this? . . . invent for this?
3. Resulting from this, do you have any unfinished business that you plan to complete now?

AREA VIII: AUTHORITY

1. Was friendly authority exercised in camp? How?
* 2. How did you see the authority of the enemy?
3. What were your reactions to enemy authorities?
* 4. Were there changes in the way you handled enemy authority in time? When? How?

AREA IX: HUMOR

* 1. Examples of humor in camp that stand out in your mind.
* 2. In what ways was humor helpful?
3. Does humor have a different place in your life now?

AREA X: STRESS

1. What kinds of stress were experienced? Torture? *Isolation, how long?
2. What did <u>you</u> find particularly stressful in the prison experience?
* 3. How did you deal with such?

AREA XI: RE-EDUCATION

* 1. Were there attempts to politically re-orient you? . . . the group?
2. What were the effects of these attempts on you?
3. Were confessions of your former life expected of you (apart from military information)?

AREA XII: INITIATIVE

* 1. Were you able to use your personal initiative during the prison experience? How?
2. What did you find successful? What effect did success have on you?
3. In what was your initiative thwarted ? (. . . success frustrated?)
* 4. How did you handle (deal with) these frustrations?
5. How do you plan to exercise initiative now that you are back?

AREA XIII: DAYDREAMING

* 1. How much of your time was spent in daydreaming?
* 2. What were your fantasies? (Retell)
3. Was this a new phenomenon in your life?

AREA XIV: RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

1. What really kept you going?
* 2. What place did faith have in your life in camp?
* 3. What does the term "religion" mean to you?
* 4. What opportunities did you have to practice religion in camp? How often? With whom? Enemy provided?
* 5. Do you want to know more about your religion as the result of this? How do you plan to pursue this?
* 6. At the time, what was your motivation for being a part of religious practices in camp?
* 7. Did faith have a place in your life before capture?
* 8. Do you plan to be active in the Church now you are back? What plans? Worship? Activities? What parish or synagogue?
9. Do you find the Church in the U.S.A. relevant to you now?
* 10. What should a clergyman/Chaplain avoid in making an approach to you?
11. Was the death of another POW encountered? Any religious (burial) rites?

AREA XV: GROUP SOLIDARITY

* 1. What do you think was the effect of isolation on you? During solitary? Effect now?
* 2. How did you regard fellow prisoners? Did this change with time?
* 3. Was there a sense of group solidarity? How was it kept up (reinforced)? What is it like now?
4. What was the motivation for this group solidarity?

AREA XVI: SURVIVOR SYNDROME, SURVIVOR GUILT

* 1. Is there anything at all that you miss from the POW experience?
* 2. Is there anything unfinished for you in the POW experience?
* 3. Is there anything that bothers you particularly as you look back on the experience? (. . . feel badly about?) (. . . . feel guilty about?)
* 4. Did you know anyone who died in camp? Tell about.
* 5. Have you done anything by way of an act of acknowledgement, respect, or memorial for such, since return?

AREA XVII: REVERSE CULTURAL SHOCK

* 1. What have you encountered in this culture that you really didn't expect?
2. What do you dislike?
3. What do you like?
* 4. In what way(s) are you dealing with these?
* 5. What in general does this tell you about this country?

AREA XVIII: FAMILY

* 1. Who decided where you would land and be on return?
* 2. Who met you?
3. How far did they come? How long did they stay?
* 4. Who did not meet you? Why do you think they did not come?
* 5. What adjustments are you encountering, or do you anticipate with family?
6. Did you plan for this (facing adjustments) in camp?
* 7. Were there things that were unresolved before your last deployment?
* 8. Do you have plans for bringing about these adjustments?

AREA XIX: IDEOLOGY

* 1. Before last deployment, what were your feelings about the VN War?
* 2. Did these feelings change in camp?
* 3. Are there religious connections to these thoughts or feelings?

AREA XX: FUTURE

* 1. What are your future goals? Immediate? Long range?

AREA XXI: THIS INTERVIEW

* 1, In what ways did you find this interview helpful to you personally?

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* - items necessary if short form of interview should be required.

INTERVIEW WITH THE WIFE

Appropriate adjustments can render this useful with fiancee, parent or adult member of the extended family.

AREA I: INITIAL REACTION

What was your first reaction to the news that he . . .
1. was missing?
2. was POW?

AREA II: HANDLING REALITY

1. What?
2. Who?
   . . . helped you face this reality.

AREA III: HANDLING DEPRIVATION (LOSS)

1. What did you find it necessary to do then?
2. How did you go about adjusting to this new experience?

AREA IV: FAITH/DESPAIR

Can you recall those factors that . . .
1. helped you sustain faith or hope of his return?
2. contributed to doubt and/or despair?

AREA V: IDEOLOGY

1. Did your opinions of the Viet Nam conflict change during his absence?

AREA VI: SELF-IMAGE

1. What did you learn about yourself as a woman as a result of having to face the fact of his captivity?

AREA VII: GROUP-SOLIDARITY

1. What did you fear most (have doubts about) (worry about) in connection with your husband's confinement?
2. Did knowledge of or belonging to a group of POW/MIA (military) wives (families), or similar experience, help you or affect you?

AREA VIII: DAYDREAMING

1. What meaningful experiences did you cherish most about your husband that kept you going over such a long time of separation?

AREA IX: REALITY TESTING

1. What kinds of contacts did you have with him during this separation?

AREA X: INITIATIVE

1. What were some of the highlights of your life-style that occurred during this separation? (getting college degree, etc.)

AREA XI: PARENTING/FATHER ABSENCE/USE OF TIME

1. What did you see that your children needed from you during this separation?
2. How did you meet these needs?

Alternate for wife without children, fiancee, other:

3. In his absence, how did you use your time and effort to cope with the fact?

AREA XII: HOMECOMING/ARRIVAL

1. What is your reaction to the "reception" given to your husband's release and return?

AREA XIII: RELIGION

1. What role did your (__.) play for you during his captivity?
   a. faith
   b. religion
   c. church
2. Do you see faith (religion) having a different meaning to you now? How?
3. Do you see faith (religion) having a different meaning to you in the future?
4. Have you discussed this with your husband?

AREA XIV: REUNION ADJUSTMENT

1. What adjustments are you facing now that he is back?
2. How are you handling them?

3. Did the POW briefing sessions before his return help you? In what way(s)?

AREA XV: FUTURE

What future aspirations do you have for your . . .
1. husband?
2. family?

AREA XVI: THIS INTERVIEW

1. In what ways did you find this interview helpful to you personally?

INTERVIEW WITH THE CHILD OF LATENCY OR TEEN AGE

AREA I: INITIAL REACTION/FAMILY COMMUNICATION

1. How did you find out about Dad being Missing? (Who told you?)
2. How did you find out he was a POW? (Who told you?)

AREA II: DAYDREAMING

1. Where did you think your Dad was?
2. As you grew up, what did you think about in relation to your Dad?

AREA III: DEPRIVATION

1. What did you miss most when your Dad was away?
2. How did you handle it?

AREA IV: HANDLING REALITY/INITIATIVE

1. What?
2. Who?

. . . was of most help to you.

AREA V: SELF-IMAGE

1. Did you consider yourself different from other kids because Dad was a POW . . .
   a. as you saw yourself?
   b. in your home?
   c. at school?
   d. in regard to your grades?
2. Did you live in a civilian or military community?
3. a. Did you move while Dad was gone?
   b. . . . alot?
   c. Why do you think you moved?

AREA VI: PARENT-FAMILY/FATHER ABSENCE

1. How did you see your Mother during your Dad's absence? How did she handle things?
2. What was Easter (Passover) like?* Thanksgiving?

AREA VII: RELIGION

1. Did you pray? Did it help?
2. What did you pray for?
3. Were you active in church before your Dad returned? What activity? Worship?
4. How about now?
5. Is your family active in the church, or are individuals active separately? No interest?

AREA VIII: IDEOLOGY

1. What do you think about the Viet Nam war?
2. What do you think about your Dad's part in it?

AREA IX: GROUP SOLIDARITY

1. Did you know other children (kids) of POWs?
2. Did you keep in contact with them?
3. When you kept in contact with them, what were you looking for?
4. Did what you had in common help you in any way?

AREA X: HOMECOMING/ARRIVAL

1. When your Dad returned, what did you find out about him?

AREA XI: REUNION ADJUSTMENT

1. Now that your Dad is back, what do you do with him?
2. What plans do you have concerning your Dad?

AREA XII: FUTURE

1. Now that your Dad is back, what would you like to have happen next?
2. What would you like to have your Dad do, now?

AREA XIII: THIS INTERVIEW

1. Did you find it easy to talk with me about these things?

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* - Christmas and Yom Kippur were avoided because they were thought to have a potential for being too emotionally charged. The answer would then have been diverted from the family dynamics.

INTERVIEW WITH THE VERY YOUNG CHILD

1. Daddy's back! What are you doing with Daddy?

2. a. Did you see Daddy get off the plane?
   b. What did you do?
   c. Did anyone tell you to do that?

3. When Daddy got off the plane, how did he look to you?

Appendix B

EVALUATIVE STATEMENTS

Evaluative Statement by Philip J. Metres, M.A., Research Psychologist, Family Studies Branch, Center for Prisoner of War Studies, San Diego, California.

This manual could well be considered unique in assisting the Chaplain to understand the complex issues and dynamics in the returned prisoners of war (RPWs) and their families. There have been no other manuals written by Chaplains for Chaplains to deal with these complex matters. Moreover, this manual has a strong potential for use by Chaplains whose ministry brings them in close touch with aviators and other high risk personnel and their families. The value of the manual was immediately recognized. Its official adoption for use among military chaplains is presently being considered, and it has already been referred to in papers written by the professional staff of the Center for Prisoner of War Studies. (Hunter, McCubbin and Metres, in press; Hunter, McCubbin, and Benson, in press). Included in the manual are certain sections which make an important contribution to the psychological literature, e.g., the process of anticipatory grief.

Another strength of the manual is that it is a blend of the points of view of the behavioral scientist and the minister viewing both of them as partners of a helping team. The paper recognizes that

both persuasions have a critical role and function. Recognizing the rather widespread and intensive level of spiritual involvement of the RPWs, to deal with the returnee and his family from only the psychological point of view could be limiting.

Furthermore, the manual documents a challenge to the ministry. It challenges traditional assumptions that take exception to the behavioral scientist and the theologian (minister) working together in a role of complementarity. On the other hand, it does define the role of the Chaplain in this particular ministry; and the author sets forth an example or model of how a minister has learned of the specific needs of this group of people.

The method of approach that Chaplain Westling used is the interview approach, rather than statistical profiles. There is an absence of documentation in the text of the manual itself; however, the points he makes should be examined in the light of the evidence presented. Further research is required to validate his conclusions. From this point of view his paper is heuristic. He presents many hypotheses which require further verification. Constructive insights from other disciplines are used throughout the paper without urging the Chaplain to usurp responsibilities with which they are unprepared to cope. There are certain areas within the returnees' lives that are more appropriately left to the psychiatrist; e.g. strong guilt about compliance behavior which the returnee may choose not to deal with. Westling points out that these issues are presented to the minister, but he should refer the problem to a mental health professional when he feels he is "in over his head."

There are numerous insights into the returnee that Westling

provides which bear reinforcing. Treating the returnee not as a "hero", but as a person who has survived a difficult series of stresses is a critical point. He warns, "For the Chaplain to see them as people through the 'smokescreen' of their public image will be the starting point of his pastoral effectiveness with them." His point was underscored by many returnees who have indicated that they would like to ease out from under the public limelight as an "ex-POW" and return to their roles as aviators and military professionals. One returnee in his memoirs emphasized this point by entitling his book, I'm No Hero (Lcdr. Charles Plumb, 1973).

Another important insight in the manual is the discussion on anticipatory grief. Understanding of this phenomenon and its relationship to other military families separated because of dangerous assignments of the husband appears to be an important tool for the Chaplain. However, it has wider applicability to the families of MIAs and PWs who have died in captivity as it helps to explain how some families seem to have grieved for a lost relative before his fate was even fully known.

Another important point the author has considered is the caveat that not all problems the returnee or his family present can be attributed to the prisoner of war experience. Many are related to "pre-morbid" personality, the state of the marriage prior to captivity, development and changes of values which both the man and his family members underwent during the separation. The PW experience can be used as a convenient explanation for what are, in fact, many innate and developed differences.

Of greater relevance to pastoral counselors is that these men

and their families have been through a "different kind of experience." Many of the returnees have described unashamedly the growth of their faith in God during the period of captivity. The value of religion to them became more evident as their deprivations and suffering increased. However, this burgeoning faith needs to be supported in the face of numerous responsibilities and distractions since their liberation. The value of religion to the PW/MIA wife during the separation was examined by a research study completed at the Center for POW Studies (Hunter, McCubbin, & Metres, in press). The pervasiveness of the religious experience among the returned PWs was such that for a helping professional to ignore it might mean the end of a meaningful rapport with the returnee. Conversely, the Chaplain might well discuss the religious experience the men might have had in captivity as a starting point in a helping relationship. However, the Chaplains should be aware that a profound religious experience during captivity was not a universal experience. For some few returnees, this type of approach could well be a "turn-off."

Westling does develop Frankl's concept of a will-to-freedom, and this may well have been the universal experience of the PWs. Certainly, this was pointed out in many of their impromptu speeches immediately upon return. The understanding of what freedom means to the returnee and his family today needs to be explored by the Chaplain. And this is one of Westling's strongest points.

Chaplain Westling's manual is an intensive analysis of interviews with returnees and their families. The manual is lengthy but deserves a second reading to receive the full impact of its message, which is aimed appropriately toward fellow ministers, many of whom have worked

arduously in this particular ministry over the past few years. For them, the manual may serve as an excellent review and will provide food for thought. For those who are new to this ministry, this manual is a must.

March 8, 1974

Evaluative Statement by Commander Russell E. McJunkin, Jr., USN. Commander McJunkin has been a Survival Instructor and Specialist in the Navy since 1954. He holds a Bachelor of Science in Survival from the University of California at Los Angeles, which was awarded in 1959 at the completion of a program uniquely designed for him at the University. He was Director of Survival, Evasion, Resistance and Escape (SERE)/Survival Training, U.S. Pacific Fleet from 1971 to 1973. He is presently Safety Officer, Fighter Airborne Early Warning Wing Pacific, Miramar Naval Air Station, California.

Although I have not experienced the rigors of captivity, I do feel qualified to discuss Chaplain Westling's work: "Ministry to Prisoner of War Returnees and their Families in the Long-Term Readjustment Period." My specialized training and duty assignments allowed me the opportunity to become highly familiar and intensely involved with Prisoners of War and with "Operation Homecoming" (formerly known as EGRESS/RECAP). I have known well some of the Returnees--some for as long as 25 years, when we began flight training together. I have also worked closely with ex-POWs from North Korea, the USS Pueblo and from North Viet Nam. With that in mind, I approach Chaplain Westling's work with awe because I am hypercritical and have found no flaws; secondly, because of the overwhelmingly amount of research he had to do to accomplish a work of this magnitude; and thirdly, because I am impressed with his skill in producing such a refreshingly candid and much needed service.

The broad scope of this Manual for Chaplains is perceived as a highly accurate, well written document. It is valid and sincere, with an outstanding philosophy which is recommended for use by other disciplines as well as that of the ministry. There is a wealth of information available here which would greatly assist anyone who has social or professional intercourse with the Returnees. Additionally, it has many ideas which would seem to fit well in dealing with people

who had not been POWs. For example, without much editing, there are many comments appropriate to the whole field of marriage counseling. This erudite study is very considerate of humanity in general, and the uniqueness of the POW's experiences is not utilized to make them appear different from the rest of us.

Another important factor is the approach of the long term ministry. Through lack of planning and/or foresight, never before in our history have we taken a close look at our Returnees after their immediate needs were met. Experience has shown a need for such consideration, but it was always ignored. We have finally realized, through overwhelming statistical evidence, and only recently at that, that the readjustment period is a long term evolution. With our predominantly Occidental heritage, the requirements for survival in a hostile Oriental environment are traumatic. The entirely different psycho-sociological culture encountered, for which most people are unprepared, starts a prisoner out with two strikes against him. Research has shown that when prisoners and captors have highly similar cultural backgrounds, the repatriates quickly and comfortably readjust with little or no requirements for special care other than medical (e.g., our men who returned from German prison camps afrer World War II). In addition, we have never before experienced such an extended period of incarceration (almost nine years for some of the "long haulers").

It is of interest to note how well Chaplain Westling has handled sensitive matters. He has taken great pains not to reveal classified matter, the use of which would most certainly have made the writing less difficult. The results, however, would have required

a limited, classified distribution and a loss of both easy access and ready availability. His expertise would have been hampered and there would have been gaps in the text without access to sensitive material, but such resources were handled strictly without compromise.

It is highly recommended that the "Ministry to Prisoner of War Returnees and their Families in the Long-Term Readjustment Period" be both widely disseminated and used. Not to do so would be a disservice to our men who kept their faith in God, their families and our country. Can we do less for them?

December 12, 1973

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Bird, Phyllis, Ph.D. Professor of Old Testament, McCormick Theological Seminary; Visiting Professor of Old Testament, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California.

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Ungersma, Aaron J., Ph.D. Professor of Pastoral Psychology, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California. Consultant on Counseling.

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Mrs. "A," Wife of Returnee.

Lieutenant Commander "B," USN, Returnee.

Lieutenant Commander "C," USN, Returnee.

Commander "D," USN, Returnee.

Mrs. "D," Wife of Returnee.

Lieutenant "E," USN, Returnee.

Mrs. "E," Wife of Returnee.

Miss "F," Fiancee of Returnee.

Petty Officer "G," Returnee.

Mrs. "H," Mother of Navy POW who died in captivity.

Mrs. "J," Wife of Navy Officer Missing in Action.

Mrs. "K," Wife of Navy Officer Missing in Action.

Mrs. "L," Mother of Army Officer Returnee (World War II).

Chaplain "M."

Chaplain "N."

Chaplain "P."

Chaplain "Q."

Chaplain "R."

Chaplain "S."

Mr. "T," Civilian Returnee (World War II).

Mrs. "T," Wife of Civilian Returnee (World War II).

Mrs. "U," Wife of Army Officer Returnee (World War II).

Chief Petty Officer "V," Returnee (U.S.S. Pueblo)--North Korea.

Commander "W," USN, Returnee.

Mrs. "W," Wife of Returnee.

Lieutenant Commander "X," USN, Returnee.

Major "Y," USAF, Returnee.

Commander "Z," USN, Returnee.

Mrs. "Z," Wife of Returnee.

MINISTRY TO PRISONER OF WAR RETURNEES AND THEIR FAMILIES IN THE LONG-TERM READJUSTMENT PERIOD

A Manual for Navy Chaplains

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by

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PREFACE

This Manual is designed to provide concrete assistance to the U.S. Navy Chaplain who has an existing or potential ministry to the Prisoner of War Returnee, his family, and to his current military unit. It is based upon interviews with Returnees and the families of some who returned and some who did not, consultations with professionals informed in this area of concern and Chaplains who have had extensive contact with these families, reports by the mass media, research studies and bibliographic resources.

This Manual is written with the intent of stating the importance of the Chaplain and his ministry to the Returnee and his family in the long-term readjustment period. It asserts the uniqueness of his motivation, and the potential of his accessibility, skill and trust. It applies pastoral psychology to his ministry with the intent of increasing its depth and to encompass the relationship of the family and systems dynamics in its concern for life and growth. Yet in exploring the uniqueness of the ministry of the Chaplain, this Manual defines the limitations of his functioning and his relationship to other professionals on the helping team. The Manual models this by its consideration of problem areas with emphasis upon counseling procedures within the pastoral role. It avoids the detailed clinical diagnoses as practiced by the medical psychiatric profession. It recommends careful use of referrals--not as an avoidance of pastoral

responsibility, but when it is in the best interest to allow another discipline to assume leadership in the helping effort. The Manual is directed to those who see life as God-given, sacred, and intended for freedom. This freedom, however, is defined as responsible in its expression, beneficial to others, and promoting personal growth and initiative.

It is by design that the section on Religion has been placed last. Religion is no water-tight compartment to be set aside from the business of living. All of the things that go into human relationships are reflections of Man's relationship with God. Men who are strangers to each other as they face God are still in some ways strangers with God.

This Manual deals with some important areas for the Chaplain to evaluate in himself. It is important for the Chaplain to refine his own skills in the communication of his exact message, especially in a ministry to men whose sensitivity to external stimuli has been acutely refined by deprivation. The Chaplain's understanding of the importance of feelings is essential in dealing with men who learned to repress feelings with other psychic mechanisms to avoid expressions of them which would place him in peril. It is important for the Chaplain to learn how to establish trust with those for whom trust has been only carefully extended and is still reserved at the deepest level for those who have proven trustworthy and who have shared certain experiences. The Chaplain can easily take for granted his own communication skills, respect for feelings, and ability to establish trust. This ministry will challenge familiar resources in these areas.

It is important for the Chaplain to penetrate former hypotheses of "what it would be like when the POW returns" that established myths about POW Returnees and their families which can stand as barriers to genuine relationships with very real people. Only such a genuine relationship can be a good foundation for the ministry of counsel and sacrament which the Chaplain can bring to benefit others.

The time of repatriation and the immediate adjustment are crucial in the establishment of patterns of adaptation to return and in the discovery of emotional upheavals and/or shifts in both the Returnee and those who welcome and host his return. During Operation Homecoming many resources have been brought to bear and placed at the disposal of these persons. The Chaplain has the advantage of offering a sustained relationship and one of more casual access while being deemed as a qualified helping person--all of which uniquely equip him to deal with the long-range settlement of return.

The Returnee and his family have been held in esteem by our Nation. This is because time is presently considered the greatest element of sacrifice, and these men and their families have given the greatest amount of time in the agony of uncertainty recorded in the recent history of man--certainly in the history of our Nation and its people.

The first captured men encountered enemy captors so completely unlike any others, that studies of Auschwitz, Santo Tomas, and of Chinese or North Korean captors were of limited usefulness in preparation for the eventuality of capture. It was only as the result of

great skill and research and information brought back by several early Returnees that later arrivals in prison compounds in Indo-China had more knowledge of what might confront them. Even that information was rendered partly obsolete by changing circumstances that altered prisoner handling. True understanding of the prisoner of this military conflict and his family separated from him can only be enhanced by the study of the confinement and separation subsequent to this Indo-China conflict.

Enemy propaganda, which was the most predominant source of intellectual stimulation for the POW, came in large measure from the use of "Free World" and American press reporting of the ideological conflict over the support of the military involvement in South East Asia back home. This factor was unequalled in past wars involving the detention of American military men by an enemy. The earlier captured arrivals in prison camps who encountered later arrivals learned of this ambivalence to some extent--yet their recourse for clarification to this point was limited by the enemy's supply of printed and radio loudspeaker information selected to support his position. It is quite conceivable that Returnees will continue to seek political and historical answers to questions about the courses of action into which duty took them. It is the Chaplain's responsibility to be well-informed of the dialogue of ideological differences and the theological postures raised by this conflict, respecting always the freedom of each person--indeed, of each Returnee--to put these to the test of his own evaluation processes. The Chaplain should be a genuine and open resource of information, and--for

obvious reasons--not an agent of persuasive debate.

Ministering to the POW Returnee and his family following the Indo-China conflict will require adequate knowledge about these persons and this confinement and separation so unique for them--to supplement the compassion, skills, and experience of the Chaplain. The need for this new knowledge is urgent to better equip Chaplains to fulfill their important and unique place in the helping professional team. The hope of providing a sustained welcome and support for those to whom we owe so much is the motivation for the research which is the foundation for this Manual.

As an instrument of welcome, of on-going stability, and as a symbol of faith and representative of the community of faith, the Chaplain can be the representative of the God who sustained the Returnee and his family through the enormity of the past--the most significant single event in their lives. At the same time he can be a touchstone with all three tenses in this prolonged journey toward a readjustment that hopefully will fit each life involved. The many small victories of the past must be savored and the failures of the past must be forgiven if ever the way of realistic passing through today's doorway to tomorrow is to be traversed with total triumph.

Lester L. Westling,Jr.

San Anselmo, California
St. Valentine's Day
14 February 1973

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I. THE CHAPLAIN, THE RETURNEE, AND THE FAMILY--ACTIONS AND REACTIONS

Returnee: "It is so good to be back home with my own people, but every time I walk into some gathering, they all stand up and cheer. I am always introduced as an ex-POW."
Chaplain: "You'd like to get away from that."
Returnee: "Right! I'd just like to be Joe Schmaltz!"

Wife: "....and I'm worried sick about that. What do you think?"
Chaplain: "I think that particular matter isn't only a POW family problem. I think it is a family problem."
Wife: (bursts into tears of joy) "Do you think so? Do you really think so? Oh thank God, how wonderful!"

Returnees are people! Their wives are people! So are their children and the parents of the POWs. And how they long to be free of the past. For the Chaplain to see them as people through the "smoke-screen" of their public image will be the starting point of his pastoral effectiveness with them.

Chaplain: "How do you feel about these interviews and answering all these questions?"
Returnee: "I guess it will help them if they can get answers to their questions."
Chaplain: "But how do <u>you</u> feel about answering all these questions?"
Returnee: "I don't really know."

Relative: "You should enjoy this gathering. It's a good opportunity to meet all these POWs."
Chaplain: "My reason for being here is to be with you."

When they can see themselves as people in your presence, your pastoral work is then in process, because from this point onward dialogue can take place--and this requires a relationship between human beings rather than between roles.

First conversations with Chaplains more often than not are about religion. What else do you talk about with a Chaplain? A Chaplain who might wish to talk about something else might offer a variety of subjects that would invite dialogue. First conversations with POW Returnees are quite often about capture and prison camp experiences. Although he may be tired of that subject, he may not be able to suggest many other subjects for conversation at this point. "If you want to ask: 'How was it?'--ask. Give him the opportunity to tell you whether or not he wants to deal with that," advised a Returnee's wife!

Pastoral thoughtfulness and allowance for the strength, initiative, and personhood of others is expressed with the first word the Chaplain utters; and one's manner of warmth and concern for him now will be your "Welcome Home!"

The Chaplain should believe in his importance to the Returnee and his family. Delay in initiating pastoral contact outside of surface meetings at social functions might be rationalized with reticence to intrude upon the privacy of the reunited family. It may be the anxiety of the Chaplain thinking the Returnee doesn't want to discuss his prison life, or that his wife is anxious for an experience of normalcy, or there may be no "problems to solve"--so what else is there to discuss?

What does the Chaplain talk about with his other parishioners and acquaintances? Accessibility as well as confidentiality are universally recognized tools available to the Chaplain. His failure to offer his availability should stimulate the Chaplain to determine the reason for his own delay.

It is well to consider how trust between persons is built in

ways other than verbal ones. Trust is borne of caring. Feeding and a dependable presence are primitive understandings of caring antedating the development of language skill in the human growth process. Invite the Returnee over for a meal. Be visibly present without being a nuisance.

Trustworthiness in others and in the community that surrounds one is introjected into the person, tending to bolster self-trust and confidence. This was the importance of group solidarity in the POW experience, and this is the importance of the trust community at home--be it the group of Returnees, the squadron, or the chapel community, and of course, the family. As the ex-POW "brotherhood" disperses, it is important for communal trust to develop elsewhere as well.

The Chaplain is important as a trustworthy person, as the representative of trustworthy communities, and as an expeditor of basic trust relationships. Assurance of the trustworthiness of the Chaplain can only come through the experience of his being trustworthy, as has been suggested previously. In initial contacts, the Chaplain may find himself being "tested" in the same subtle ways that a POW once "checked out" the attitudes of enemy interrogators even while the interrogators were in the process of overtly inquiring into the nature of the "true feelings" of the POW. The brief statement fielded for challenge, measurement of the amount of hearing, thoughtful observation of eyes, facial expressions, and the like are strong answers in body language to the basic unexpressed question: "under the rank and ribbons of experience, are you a trustworthy person?" Deprivation of outside stimuli has rendered the perceptiveness of the POW capable of expert and undetectable powers of examination. In response to the feeling of being

scrutinized, the Chaplain will do well to acknowledge this to himself, and in response to be himself, and avoid an effort "to impress." In short "be real!" In most (but not all) cases, the scrutiny will be a matter of practice. Acknowledgment of the sensation of being scrutinized by the Returnee when it occurs will be valuable feedback for him.

A person who has not known trust learns to isolate himself in his thoughts. This may come as a result of an experience of prolonged mistrust (as with enemy authorities) or as an adjustment to solitary confinement. As a man who smothered the direct expression of his emotions for years with such intellectualizations, the Returnee may seek to effect his transition to the return to home and culture in intellectual ways and with repressed feelings. Feelings are not acknowledged to oneself or to others where trust has not been established, and repressed feelings can play tricks on us. Furthermore, one who lives in his thoughts alone continues his isolation, whereas feelings connect lives one to the other. Should a man who returns with many questions about his experience and his life admittedly unresolved, yet make no attempt to resolve such questions (e.g. by reading, or by inquiry of some kind), in a sense he remains in the prison of immobility--and the Chaplain would do well to wonder if his initiative has been "blocked" by guilt or some unresolved conflict from the past. On the other hand, should a man spend an excessive amount of his time on return in reading or study (which are solitary endeavors)--he may still be in solitary confinement by his own choice (or for fear of mistrust?) as can be seen in the evidence of his behavior.

The Chaplain and his book-knowledge can be important to the

Returnee not as a substitute for living groups of human beings, but rather as a pathway back home to them.

When the virility of male energy has been caged and threatened for years, that virility may express itself in intellectual ways--which may represent a new experience to such a man.

In such cases, feelings may be disqualified as immaturity, impulsive and lacking in character. Thought then becomes the locus of his personal concept of power. Yet he has returned to a culture that has come to be aware of emotions and to befriend them. The major representative of that culture for the Returnee may be his wife who has had to acknowledge her feelings in order to satisfy her children's emotional needs and hopefully to be herself gratified by their reciprocity.

The Chaplain to the Returnee may be met with a barrage of invitations to intellectualize and theologize. Let him watch for the man who almost totally denies acknowledgment of his own feelings. To take the "bait" and spend hours in theoretical discussions will limit the Chaplain's usefulness. In the midst of such a discussion, to inquire--"How does it make you feel when that happens?" or "How do you experience that?", or "How is that important to you?" may open the pastoral relationships in short order once trust has been established. If and when years of repressed feelings begin to surface, the Chaplain should not close off the process because of his anxiety over his ability to handle his own emotional reactions to this outpouring. He may also find himself in a position to explain that the repression of anger, rather than the channeling of it into useful outlets and into efforts that can change things, is a defense that is

no longer necessary in the Returnee's life. Indeed, repression or denial of all feelings is not to be equated with "maturity," "character" or "leadership," and the opposite is not "loss of control," necessarily.

Activity may be in concert with others, or it may be a solitary endeavor. Activism can be utilized in an isolating way so as to have the effect of excluding emotional involvement with one's surroundings and those who populate it. Activism can, therefore, be very self-centered. Returnees have a great deal to accomplish to fulfill their own goals, to make up for lost time by trying to do everything at once. Physical limitations have not been a limiting factor for many Returnees from North Viet Nam prisons. Perhaps in the enjoyment of the experience of certainty found in the reality of return, many have carefully structured their time--with every hour of every day for weeks ahead allocated or awaiting assignment. There is an exhilaration about being one's own timekeeper after any type of confinement, for it is an experience of responsibility for one's freedom as well as one of self-governing. But a busy and structured schedule can also be a shut-out to loved ones as they compete for time and find the structure limits the degree of closeness possible. As has been stated, activities can bring people together and common experience can breed communion (as it did in prison), but it is not the same thing as communion. It is possible for people to work, play, live together and otherwise structure their time together, and still remain strangers. Activism can serve to delay the risks involved in making human connections.

It is easy for the Chaplain as an organizational man to find

himself caught up in the structured activism that excludes intimacy, and self-assessment may be a prerequisite for him in this ministry--that he not counsel one thing and model another. Weighing against change in this area for all who experience it is that a demanding schedule tells the ego: "I am needed." For this reason we impose such busy-ness upon ourselves.

The life of the POW was structured--mostly by the enemy, partly by himself. The major events of the day--like the slow beat on the gong or metal plate that measured out the days in some camps--imposed a basic structure: awakening, dumping "the bucket", sometimes an opportunity to wash, two meals, loudspeaker indoctrination, back to sleep. There was time between these events, and it is reported that for many this seemed to pass faster when it too was regimented. Herein, men found freedom to structure their own time. Many made a ritual at an appointed time of smoking one of the cigarettes that were dispersed. One man reported rationing his daydreams, and had budgeted certain amounts of time for this. Another described a "mosquito safari" (a search and destroy mission upon the insects) after the evening meal. Such activities were especially important in solitary. The Chaplain who understands from where this structuring comes and the purpose it served then, should also observe whether it is being used by the Returnee as a connection with the reality of his return or an avoidance of the relationships which are integral to the reality of that return. It may be added that in prison the structuring of time made possible scheduled opportunities for reflection, re-evaluation, and planning; whereas, the culture to which he has returned uses scheduling more to structure its activism and to control its

impulsiveness, but not as a substitute for it. In this we stand to learn much from the Returnee--rather than he from us--for transcendence has fast become a lost quality among us. On the other hand, excessive scheduling can be a shield for protection no longer needed. Any deviation from routine or instruction in camp resulted in possible punishment, and there is a certain security in the predictable which scheduling can control. But it is unrealistic in terms of a return to the routine of life which is filled with constant change and which requires adaptability borne of confidence in one's ability. This confidence will grow if gently nurtured; and as it grows rigidity in the life of the POW Returnee will gradually relax.

The field of pastoral counseling has experienced an accelerated development in competence in the last decade, thus some of the Returnees who have been gone the longest seem unfamiliar with the Chaplain's role beyond that of ceremonial functionary. Crisis counseling in the Navy is nothing new, but a routine in-depth ministry of counseling may be a subject which the Chaplain needs to explore with the Returnee to familiarize the latter with the resource that can be found in the Chaplain's availability and skill. It may be that only after the Chaplain has demonstrated his effectiveness in this area, will the Returnee show a willing interest to utilize the Chaplain in this area.

In the formation of a pastoral relationship or in providing a foundation for counseling, certain factual information may help the Chaplain deepen his understanding of the individual and of the family dynamics that exist at a particular point in time. As elementary as it may seem to the reader, gross errors are possible where it has not been thoroughly determined if the one revealing his concerns is describing

a past or present condition of things, or from whose perspective the story is being told. Objective facts serve to reveal to both parties to the counseling relationship whether the area of concern is an intra- or interpersonal one, and to more rapidly identify the stress-relationship (for example: marital, parental, or a combination of these). The identification of those supportive relationships that were available to the family during the period of separation and the effect the return of the man has had on such relationships is another area where factual information might prove of worth in the interest of accurate counseling and a rapid perception of root difficulties.

Some helpful matters in addition to POW and separation information for early determination by the Chaplain-counselor are suggested as follows:

> age, race, religion, rank or rate, career status and intentions, marital status and length of that status, number of marriages, children--number, sex, age, and if from other marriage, spouse, spouse's age, etc. It is important to determine where spouse is located at the time the request for help is initiated.

Additional information that will be helpful to determine as the relationship continues will be:

> educational background, parental and sibling relationships in family of origin, past occupational and/or work experience, birthplace and geographical, economical and social milieu in which early experiences took place, and details of the extended family and friendships that have had a degree of influence.

Regarding captivity and separation experiences, it will be helpful to inquire early about facts and more subjective material as well. Some guidelines are suggested, as follows:

> length of separation, what contacts with the spouse were possible during separation, most significant events during captivity separation, and personal estimate of their effect upon one's life, changes noticed in spouse, plans and adjustments

being faced, locus of family leadership before and now, etc.

Counseling families in reunion will be discussed in "III. The Returnee and His Family--Reentry and Reunion." It should be added here that the Chaplain as counselor should also be a dependable referral source and be able to recognize when medical, psychiatric, legal or financial advice and professional help will be most appropriate. An essential ingredient to such a referral is a follow-up contact as an expression of the Chaplain's personal interest, and in order to insure a closure to that contact and a supportive relationship in the transfer to a less familiar "helping party." A Chaplain who knows he cannot be all things to all people will have multiplied his effectiveness many times by having a healthy respect for both his abilities and his limitations. Responsible referral requires that the Chaplain should have made a good assessment of the one to whom referral is made; but he should take responsibility for choices cautiously and only if necessary because of the client's unfamiliarity with the area. Even then, several names of capable professionals should be suggested from which the one seeking assistance can make his own choice and commitment. To support such a referral without interfering with its process requires of the Chaplain the ability to be emotionally flexible in his dual role capacity as pastor and counselor--and a good relationship with the professional to whom the referral was made will also prove invaluable.

II. ORGANIZATION AND COMMUNITY

> Chaplain: "What were you deprived of in camp?"
> Returnee: "They deprived me of being with other guys. When you are with somebody else, first of all you derive strength from it, and second of all you derive another opinion which would have been to me extremely valuable."

Some POWs interviewed on return expressed the desire to make contact with and to experience the response of other prisoners before they expressed the thought of their desire for the ultimate freedom of release. One Returnee reported that toward the end of his initial and very long isolation, his first confrontation with another prisoner almost overwhelmed him with fright. Yet men employed their total energy to penetrate that isolation which was the enemy tactic of divide with the aim of control. At first this was accomplished by clandestine methods of communication, later developments expedited this with the crowding of the prison facilities--the history of which will be traced later.

The Fourth Composite Allied Wing, the infrastructure of friendly (POW) authority, was created early in 1971 by the prisoners to preserve their internal chain of command as well as to organize for resistance and physical and emotional survival. This organization provided communal benefits--even to those in solitary. Its motto might well have been: "If he can do it, I can do it."

Air Force nomenclature was chosen. The Wing was organized into Squadrons, and the Squadrons into Flights--of five to seven men

on the average. Each had its senior as Commanding Officer, then its Operations Officer (AF = USN Executive Officer). There followed various Department Heads--such as Communications Officer, Chaplain, Choir Director; and others as functionally appropriate. The Education Officer had various instructors in his department.

Languages and mathematics were in highest demand, and those who could teach them were held in high esteem. Music was taught on drawn keyboards. Toastmasters were organized. A complete Officer Candidate School course was re-created for three experienced enlisted aspirants in one cell group. Church was held: prayer offered, the Word preached, the Sacraments administered. In some cells movies were "told" on Saturday night, the tellers having used their reflection time during the week to recall the entire story from beginning to end--to invent what could not be remembered, and to improve upon the narratives here and there with a bit of "spice."

The POW brotherhood which was originated for survival and resistance of the enemy and which challenged disunity in the ranks (and still does) that threatened to erode its effort and weaken its cause, still exists as a strong resource of support in the "Homecoming" adjustments. The Chaplain may find it appropriate in some instances to enlist the aid of a brother Returnee for one to whom he ministers; and bases having a few Returnees assigned in proximity to one another is seen as a healthy phenomenon where there is not such a heavy concentration of them as to impede integration into the military community and instead remaining an exclusive group. However, the dynamics of such a brotherhood is a good model for us, and the substitute family of men who "lived together" as cell-mates and who were bound

together by the sharing of stress could well bring a revival of such organizational unity to the nation through the impact of projected political activity by the POW Returnees.

One Returnee expressed concern about the rapid succession of crises in American life--which he labeled as "immature" problem solving. Freedom for open expression even to the point of dysfunctionality has been viewed as progress by many in this country. It is interesting to note an observable uniformity in the expression of former POWs upon return. Mutual benefit can come from the reunion of these two streams of life at this time.

In their capacity as individuals, the POW Returnees could bring to chapel and church congregations (and through them to the ecclesiastical bodies of this nation) the influence of the fellowship that became such a part of their lives and which the religious community could well envy. But making the connection from the ex-POW brotherhood to other groups with assimilation at the deepest level will in some cases be a long and gradual process, and the Chaplain should exercise patience in his well-directed hope for this. If these persons can find in the Chaplain a trustworthy person, indeed their finding themselves "at home" in chapel, church or synagogue will be more likely--yet if this does not occur, the Chaplain should not take responsibility for it by seeing this as a reflection upon his relationship with them. The Chaplain could well value the religious experience extant within the POW community--trusting the matter of denominational allegiance to God and to the man. If and when it comes, it may not be able to bring a <u>deeper</u> relationship with God, but it would have the advantage of providing a wider range of human fellowship.

Returnees have described a facet of the "Homecoming" experience as "rankless," but usually this has been in relation to those above him among his hosts and welcomers. As representatives of their electorates and their commands, the very highest of government and military leaders on behalf of all of us have offered a very personal welcome and every facility at their disposal. Celebrities of sports and the performing arts have spent time and energy and have given of themselves--a phenomenon that has never before been so extensively directed toward such a select group, and that has been so generally known through the mass media. Yet it may be observed that the notables who have been in a position to offer friendship are also in pretty isolated situations themselves by virtue of their positions and prestige. The Chaplain who truly offers himself is offering an important gift and he is in the good company of a procession of others who have done so. But let him not forget that he is in a position to offer something additional--and that is community.

Squadron life, battalion life, or the life of one's current military unit has its career interests, its man-to-man communication, its social involvements, and contact between service families with similar motivations. This may well be the most potent offering of community life available to the Returnee and his family--especially because of the strongly expressed desire of Returnee to get back into the career pattern and to take up where he left off. In many cases, the squadron or unit could be the road back to the chapel or parish church--if that road is to be taken--especially in the case of the Returnee whose religious awakening or reawakening came in Viet Nam.

Let the Chaplain value his opportunity as a squadron or unit

chaplain--even if it is a voluntary or collateral duty--and through this, the chance to offer the Returnee especially wider experiences of community in whatever form such can be assimilated. Yet it is well in this context to be aware of those who have been disqualified from such a familiar career setting by reason of physical impediments or age resulting from captivity. They too will need community and communal support in the acceptance of changes, and this will no doubt be harder to accept from within a community less familiar to the Returnee.

Group solidarity is certainly not a new idea to those whose very survival depended upon it for so long. But in order to complete "Operation Homecoming" there must be more than food, flags, and fanfare--for these can stand in the way of real human interaction.

The military community has been quick to give account of itself as a trustworthy organization. On one base the word was passed that the Returnees wanted no more attention brought to their return than would be given after a routine deployment. Their wishes for anonymity were so completely respected that one Returnee's involvement in public sports events with his and other service families as a visiting team in neighboring civilian communities just days after his return went completely unnoticed, and for them, thoroughly enjoyed. There are many ways the Chaplains can expedite matters in situations in which the community will be trustworthy for the Returnee and his family--and trustworthy in its own eyes as well.

III. THE RETURNEE AND HIS FAMILY: RE-ENTRY AND REUNION

The area of highest priority in the reunion process has been the return of the POW to his family. Physical return, however, does not necessarily imply quick and satisfactory psychological and emotional return. It was interesting to observe in the plane-side reunions whether a man embraced his children with his wife, or whether they were obliged to wait patiently in line to greet the new stranger and he them. How they greeted suggested much about how they would handle the reunion in the long run.

Much can be learned about the dynamics of the family by exploring the memory of the occasion. The Chaplain might ask, "who met you on return?" "How far did they come?" "Who arranged where you would land?" "How did you feel about that?" (Especially if someone other than the POW took the initiative.) "Who did not meet you?" "Why do you think they did not come?" This line of questioning by the Chaplain-counselor at a time remote from the event can reveal many clues about the family system when the first moments of Homecoming are brought back into the field of focus.

There were wives and fiancees who found themselves unable to wait. The loneliness and the uncertainty of the Missing in Action status, months--years for most--without mail or word or rumor, scanning piles of blurred photographs for hints of familiar characteristics, hopes gained and lost time after time; such an emotional struggle defies description. The reluctance to wait of the immature, the impatient,

the insecurely married and the unprepared pre-deployment bride can be more easily understood; but there were also strong marriage bonds that dissolved in mystery and with complete surprise to many. Concerning the latter, the following theory is advanced.

When a person dies, many of the experiences of mourners are related to their grief, the effect of which is a gradual emancipation from emotional ties to the deceased and the formation of new relationships. These symptoms of grief--which have been called "grief work"--may involve a number of things in the bereaved. Sensations of somatic distress are common. Feelings of guilt can include exaggerated self-accusation and a search for evidence of having failed the deceased. Free floating hostility reactions are the surface of what would generally be repressed as unacceptable to the bereaved--anger toward the deceased for his departure. Some persons in grief, experience a loss of initiative and self-organization--resulting in dependence upon a prescribed routine or upon others to stimulate activity which is out of that norm.

A preoccupation with the image of the deceased is seen in the idealization of the departed, and this often entails a compulsive involvement with activities connected with the loved one's death and with his career community. Although "grief work" usually includes the limiting of the social life of the bereaved, this should be seen as a reduction in activities with "social meaning," and is not to be confused with frequent even compulsive attendance at functions which could have included the departed in an endless search for him and with the subconscious hope or magical thinking that this is a means of keeping him alive--which will be described below.

Usually these symptoms of grief are manifested following the death of a significant person in whom one has invested a great deal of oneself. There are, however, subconscious ways by which the mind prepares itself for the eventuality of such shock, fending off what otherwise might have been psychologically overwhelming. Wives of men on hazardous duty report that in their fantasies they have rehearsed such grim events as receiving the news or of witnessing the final catastrophe in the life of their loved one. Likewise, "grief work" may be done in advance and to the point of being irreversible. The emancipation, which is the result of "grief work," may have been prepared for so completely because of the fear of the loss of a precious relationship that the emotional ties may no longer be joined again.

In review of the symptoms of "grief work," application can now be easily made to the case of waiting wives. Idealization of an absent husband or father could so cast him as idol that realistic return would be precluded. After all, who can have that kind of love for God or a bronze image or icon? The activism of the POW/MIA interest groups, it has been proven, did help the men as they were intended to; but they also served the purpose of identification with the deceased, and with his career community. They made activity demands and gave structure to life--but in cases where such involvement might have become excessive, the interruption of such activities for some wives would have been an interruption of "grief work"--and for the Chaplain, this would involve a decision as to the desirability of doing so. Many an MIA wife whose husband was missing a hundred miles at sea or eight years ago in the Laotian jungle, fears that should she give up hope, thought and prayer of his survival he would lack that thread of strength which would result

in his death--that this might even be later linked to the date of his confirmed demise. "Grief work" and its activism may be merciful, and time her salvation. However, the claim of "magical thinking"--in this case of having the power of life and death--should be the subject of counsel, that what is thought of as faith is in reality the lack of it, and the burden of that is presumption.

Looking back upon the period of separation for the wives as it may prove helpful in retrospect, the observation is offered that Chaplain-organized retreats which included competant psychological leadership on the staff were commendable in dealing with and in some cases interrupting anticipatory "grief work." Hostilities were allowed to surface and to be examined for what they were, and guilt and self-accusation were recognized. Rage was redirected into appropriate rather than self-destructive directions. Many personal re-evaluations were made at such events. The application of this mode of ministry is highly recommended for wives whose husbands are deployed on recognized high-risk assignments.

Many who have done "grief work" in anticipation of a death, as in the tending of a victim of a terminal illness, and whose freedom from the relationship has come previous to or concurrent with that death, have been surprised by that release--thinking it should happen only after prolonged and post-mortem tribute to their love. When their experience has been otherwise, they tend to feel guilty, close observers tend to be judgmental, and well-disposed pastors laud them for their strength of faith. The guilt they feel, however, is to be identified with "grief work" and serves to widen the emotional gulf between the bereaved and the deceased.

The guilt just described is for the most part culturally induced. The example given serves to explain the dynamics of the experience of guilt for many wives who had "let go" of their POW husbands. This would have occurred either by a complete surrender of hope of return and the doing of grief work, or to a lesser extent through the entertaining of second thoughts about the POW's return. For many it was too difficult to face "the dead" in the "general resurrection of Homecoming." The guilt which confronts such wives extends and reinforces "grief work," thus confirming separation and reinforcing the breach in the relationship. If the Chaplain can provide a relief from such shame by a neutral approach which is accepting of the person, such a wife may be more enabled to examine the state of the relationship for what it is.

The Chaplain who is aware of the dynamics of "anticipatory grief work" could be a great resource to the POW family now conflicted by guilt over past doubts, or to the abandoned Returnee in the acceptance of the fact of the abandonment or in its resolution. It may be important for him to know that a factor in abandonment may have been the weight of his loss to his wife or fiancee and the love that had been invested in him.

It may also be speculated that mothers of small children may have had less of a struggle with anticipatory "grief work." Small children reverse the process by effective denial of the possibility of a father's death in their active fantasy life. They "keep Daddy alive" in their unsophisticated minds by picturing his heroic parachute drop in the idiom of high and vivid adventure, they accept the news of his disappearance by asking to go out and play, and with sure and

certain hope that God does have the key to the prison door. Constant exposure to such spontaneous hope so expressed in behavior, thoughts and prayers cannot but influence the depths in the mother--counteracting temptations to work out grief in experiences directed toward the acceptance of death and emancipation from the vows of marriage.

Divorce concerns both parties, and though much has been said about the wife's part in this, there is also the possibility that the man has returned with a rigidity, a demand for regimentation, an impatience with himself and with others that he confronts in his readjustment, and/or that he may see in his wife's new found growth and personal capabilities a threat to his position in the family and thus to his identity. After ignoring the warning signs of a deteriorating relationship, divorce may present the Returnee with an encounter with realistic limits which could save him from greater tragedy than the loss of his family. But the purpose of this Manual is that of reflection upon what has already transpired only to the extent that it will aid in the long-term readjustment of all concerned.

It is difficult if not impossible to generalize about reunion adjustments. The terrible experiences of the POWs were nonetheless more uniform than the variety of problems encountered by their waiting families. The means by which each handled the problems of life and the effects of the experiences of captivity and of responsibilities of these families with absent husbands and fathers are as varied as the number of persons involved. In addition, only time will tell whether behavioral adaptations observed at the time of Homecoming will persist in future reactions and feelings. Observed changes appearing

after this captivity and separation experience are important to ascertain when counseling is undertaken and when exploration is to be made as to what each person in the family is asking for himself or for herself and in the communication of basic motivations by each. Indeed, such communication requires trust.

The great advantage to be found in the utilization of conjoint family interviews in preference to other approaches is that the entire family unit as well as each individual's functioning in it can be observed simultaneously and explored in the counseling process. The teaching and use of communication skills and the opening of closed family communications systems are also effective and integral parts of the conjoint family counseling approach. Thus the family's dynamics are observed and subject to change in the counseling interviews, and adjustments in the nurturing within the family--giving and receiving--can take place in the existential situation. This is a departure not only from individual counseling but from individual counseling in a group setting as well. It is symbolic that where there is pain in a family, that pain belongs to every member and affects every family member.

This type of counseling requires training and skill and is best accomplished by a male and female therapist team. It is eclectic as a mode of pastoral counseling--and one can make use of the techniques of Gestalt, awareness, behavioral and other therapies. Basic to its value to the POW Returnee and his family, however, is that it does not single out the POW as an "identified patient," it values feelings and emphasizes their exploration rather than permitting their rationalization and intellectualization (a learned reaction important to survival in

prison camp as well as a phenomenon common to the American male), and it follows the "growth model." The latter concept stands in contrast to the "moral model"--the "right and wrong," "should and shouldn't" legalistic caricature many people expect of Chaplains, and it stands in contrast to the medical model to be identified with the treatment of illness--a concept which has caused more than a few to reject psychological assistance. Instead, the emphasis is upon growth and the enrichment of life--that which would profit any human being regardless of station.

Conjoint family therapy (therapy=healing) or counseling, though it does require skill and training, is not only well-suited to POW Returnee families, but it is also within the abilities and vocation of the Chaplain--and its use is not an indication that the Chaplain is playing the psychologist to the neglect of his true role. More information on this mode of counseling and its potential for pastoral use can be gleaned from such books as Peoplemaking and Conjoint Family Therapy, by Virginia Satir, Communication, Family, and Marriage, and Therapy, Communication and Change, by the late Don D. Jackson (works of both authors available through Science and Behavior Books, Inc. of Palo Alto, California); and Intimacy: The Essence of Male and Female, by Shirley Gehrke Luthman (available through Nash Publishing, Los Angeles, California). A series of eight or nine video training tapes are being prepared by Virginia Satir and DeWitt C. Baldwin, M.D. in conjunction with the School of Medical Sciences at the University of Nevada--Reno, and information on their availability can be had through Peoplemaking, Incorporated, 1405 Dartmouth Drive, Reno, Nevada.

These references are suggested here because communication skills

are so important in the nurturing process. There is so much to be shared and to be decided during the reunion of these families--and indeed there always will be during the routine of family management, parenting, and marriage. The success or failure of sharing, nurturing, decision-making are in themselves determinants of the success or failure of the marriage and family relationship. The hopes and fears of all these years of separation and growth, the shifts in authority and responsibility in parenting children who have been unusually close to and dependent on one parent and respectful strangers to the other, halo-breaking when the man in the picture becomes incarnate and makes demands as well as mistakes, public acclaim and then suddenly the lack of it, pressures from parents, in-laws and the extended family, career choices, the need for a returning husband to appreciate his wife's coping and her growth, the need to make room for father in the family living pattern--all these important matters can be handled only if the process of communication is both genuine and openly receptive. The Chaplain may have to exercise skill in helping people hear each other.

Debriefing is an important part of the return, and there is much of this that needs to be done at home. One POW from World War II reports continued preoccupation with events of almost four years in prison in Asia. His wife and relatives told him on return that they would never pry into what happened while he was in prison camp unless he wanted to tell them. Lacking the invitation, he kept it all to himself--and still does. POWs in Hanoi helped each other by listening to each other. One prisoner reported that each man in his cell could retell in detail the complete biography of the other cell-mates. Wives need to debrief as well--to tell their husbands how they handled things,

decisions made, and growth experienced in his absence. They too need appreciation rather than judgment--most of all, his appreciation.

Husband and wife cannot find each other physically with the greatest satisfaction until other levels of communication and emotional and intellectual nurturing are open. When the adjustments of reunion are being shared and decisions reflect teamwork, then sex can find its fulfillment in the union of two lives.

A Returnee was questioned on a national television talk show about the effect of long imprisonment upon the virility of the men. He responded: "We (POWs) had heard ... the possibility existed that prisoners of war could become impotent or homosexual. We are as a group proud to announce that we are not." The audience reaction of laughter nearly drowned out his final words.

Being a father to one's children is more than a biological process--it is a learned experience as well. To parent a child of whom one has long dreamed but never met on a daily person-to-person basis (or perhaps never met at all), to fulfill ones own expectations of being a companion to a son--who is now a long haired adolescent once active in the peace movement, or a daughter last remembered as a chunky elementary school child--who now votes, drives, dates, and wears a mini-skirt, and to do all of this without the intervening years of experience with them and with this culture, will require time and effort in adjustment. Further, the rugged and rigid self-discipline undoubtedly required over a prolonged POW experience will be likely to continue as an influence in the life of the Returnee. Such tendencies could support a conservatism in the acceptance of cultural changes which, in turn, could stand in the way of cementing

these relationships. Especially with older children, a degree of respect will be required of the Returnee that will permit hearing, and a depth of love that can allow differences.

The Chaplain can be an invaluable source of modeling (in the language of the counselor) male parenting in either visitation or counseling setting, and in the casual routine of life around the home. The Chaplain should not underestimate the importance of relating to the children of the family in the presence of the father--spontaneously and naturally, and without comment about it necessarily. To see another man on the floor with small children, taking an interest in the doll collection or the coaster, or reading to them a short story gives an example of relationships for which the Returnee may have long hungered but which he may not know how to enjoy at the start.

Children, too, need to become accustomed to their father's voice and his authority. Especially do they need to adjust to the fact that he--as well as their mother--is an interested listener, interested in the routine matters that delight little ones. Their mother needs to support his early efforts at discipline--giving background material and her opinions that may be different than his not within their hearing. It is important to the welfare of the children in the home to see parents as acting together--something which they will inevitably test in order to check out the security of their own position in the family.

Boys whose fathers were gone during crucial early years will tend to identify with the feminine image; then when they become aware of cultural expectations, a rejection of the basic feminine identification will commonly lead to a basic acting out of an assertion of masculinity resulting in a tendency toward anti-social behavior.

This should be seen apart from normal parental disobedience--although some parental disobedience is related to anti-social behavior. The return of the father will not immediately solve the problem, but it will accelerate the normal diminishing of such problems that can come when role-identity becomes more stabilized with age.

The difficulty will vary with the degree of facility with which the Returnee can identify with his son, thus expediting the boy's role identity. Fathers absent from children--especially sons--who were born or who had been in early pre-school years when they left, will struggle with a real sense of alienation which may require a lot of help to overcome.

Whereas the effects of father-absence on boys tends to appear early and then decrease with age, the effects upon girls tends to remain latent until adolescence. Effects are more pronounced when the separation occurred when the daughter was five years of age or younger. Daughters who have not grown up with a father and with his friends appearing with him will have to overcome an awkwardness with males--especially in adolescence. The mother who deified the image of the absent father will have taught a daughter that no male could match up to such an image. Such a daughter who may have entered adolescence before her father's return will probably have shown an aloofness with boys and a reticence to date. On the other hand, the mother may have experienced hostility toward her husband or the service for his absence (often triggered by his own hesitance about his participation in his assigned duties). This hostility for his absence in the mother will increase the possibility of overly aggressive flirtatious behavior in her daughter in adolescence. Such girls reflect the mother's anxiety

that happiness requires a man, an over-dependency because her self-confidence has been threatened; and there may be an accelerated desire for independence of the anxious mother, or a hostile desire to prove that all men are as incompetent as was the father who allowed himself to be taken away.

The Returnee who faces the disenchantment of being found to be a human being by his daughter may find her disillusionment with him difficult to handle; but a return to realism with his return can bring new life to her if handled with gentle understanding rather than defensiveness and impatience. The Returnee who faces a daughter who was raised on hostility for his loss, may well find that he must face his own unresolved resentment about his departure first, and his wife's feelings second; and together through their example a normal image of relationships and their limitations can be projected into the life of their daughter.

It would also be well for the Chaplain to be aware that a loss early in life such as that caused by the absence of a POW father can have delayed effects which might be triggered by losses experienced later in the life of the young son or daughter. What might seem to be an inappropriately deep (even a pathological) depression could result from such a later loss. The second loss might be a death, prolonged hospitalization or divorce--but such can release emotions connected with the loss experienced early in life. It is possible that such a depression could require psychiatric treatment if severe. A careful assessment of such a situation is strongly suggested, especially in anticipation of the second loss of such a significant person when this

can be predicted. Verbalization and the expression of emotions still contained from the first loss could bring relief and reduce the chance of difficulty in such situations.

The POW who found an intensive and survival-based brotherhood in deprivation and who was met with a public welcome but also with a returned wedding or engagement ring on return to the U.S.A., will have returned to the dreams that filled his days and years and which sustained the will to live and to return suddenly emptied. Some knew in advance, some did not. There have been many opportunities for "dates" on return, and yet the disciplined control over impulsiveness gained by the POW would weigh against dangers of rebound whirlwind marriage commitment. Thus, such a man may be confronted with a new experience of loneliness as the POW brotherhood scatters geographically after convalescence and debriefing are completed--and as others find themselves with families that did wait. Knowledge of this may be kept protectively within the Returnee community, however a hint may come to the Chaplain in the suggestion that a certain man may be open to a visit. Even then the information and the hurt may not be shared. Trust--yes, even of a Chaplain--takes time and availability. A withdrawn demeanor which represents change in the manner of the Returnee may be indicative of disappointment on return rather than a reaction to captivity.

The POW story is one of survival by the use and development of personal initiative, and this will be described in more detail in "IV. POW Returnee--the Man Himself." But it must be noted that the wives of prisoners of war were not marking time during the separation! Many learned new skills; but basic to what they learned, was how they

learned it. Initiative found joy in a new degree of accomplishment, and for many this was a very new experience. Women who comprise the female component of one of the most conservative role-defined authority-structured subcultures in America--the military community--as well as being mothers and cooks, became heads of households, builders, college students, investors, public speakers, writers, world travelers, even "diplomats" in such places as Washington, D.C., and Paris, France--demanding the attention of the world on behalf of the plight of prisoner husbands. In seeking his liberation from the deprivation of Asian war prisons, she claimed her own liberation in a very inconspicuous way. In the light of this movement toward female parity and the dissolution of roles as factors that limit the potential of a woman's growth it can be seen that not only has the family of the POW changed in his absence, but so has the very structure of the American family. Women's Liberation, the youth culture, and other changes in this society could be easily seen as a betrayal of many of the POW's hopes by those he loves--unless the interpretation of these changes comes from a source that understands and perhaps welcomes these developments as potential for growth. The Chaplain could be that resource if such matters have been resolved in his own mind.

Husbands and wives separated by the POW experience both report that they have learned many things about themselves during this time. For the traditional service wife, this came as the Executive Officer or Operations Officer of the family assumed the post of Deputy Commanding Officer.

A POW wife said in anticipation shortly before her husband's return: "I don't know how pleased he'll be with my new personality . . . .

I know if (he) had stayed home my only interest would have been cleaning house and taking care of the children. But I had to change." She related that in the early years of marriage she would write to her husband when he was deployed asking if she could buy a slip, or blue jeans for the boys. Gradually, however, she began making decisions, ones even which she doubted her husband would approve. After her husband returned, she said "He's a lot more tolerant for the experience and I'm less impulsive . . ." and in spite of his desire to reclaim his former total management role as head of the household, "We share decisions now and there is nothing more gratifying than (his) willingness to listen to what I have to say, to be treated as though I have something equally important to add." Even though this does not represent a radical shift in the family system, it is an example of movement.

Many prisoners report that hours of their time were spent in the re-evaluation of their inter-personal relations. In solitary confinement they reflected on childhood, school days and family life of the past--in fantasy, rehearsing and re-evaluating human encounters. Then later in cell groups they sought to put their desired special skills to the test by exercising their enhanced sensitivity to each other's "manifestations of frustration" ("MF") and to what in oneself caused irritation to others. Conscious control was exerted in order to ease the strain of co-existance in close quarters. There was a conscious effort to see the viewpoint of the other person and to make a candid response. Many POWs show evidence of this training in their very precise and accurate manner of speech. "We knew each other better than we knew

our wives." "When you could tell an argument was coming on, you would back away. That's just an MF, we would say." To sense when argument is just a manifestation of frustration and would solve nothing is good adaptive thinking; but should this adaptation be a pattern of covering contention by intellectualizing rather than negotiating reconcilable differences, such a pattern will reappear in marriage, family, career and other human relationships.

One Returnee, in describing his own military group said:

> "You've probably never seen a group so egotistical and independent and one way as a bunch of fighter-pilots, both Air Force and Navy . . . but they did (learn to get along with other people)--they had to . . . in dealing with their country-mates and with the enemy both."

Many of the wives of missing or prisoner husbands, like their husbands, resisted signs of being dependent on others during the separation. Some found support in POW/MIA Wives groups on the local and the national level, and many found encouragement in the "If you can do it, I can do it" spirit. Casualty Assistance Calls Officers assigned by nearest Navy bases were known to be of great help in many ways. Some Chaplains were particularly alert to the needs of such wives, and kept in contact with them. But most wives were reluctant to allow themselves to accept any type of assistance with anything which they themselves could find a way to manage. Some completely absented themselves from the other POW/MIA wives and from the military atmosphere, and there were those who moved without leaving a forwarding address. In some cases this represented an ideological schism about the justification for the conflict that had taken their husbands from them. For some, we can assume this was an expression of hostility for the loss, and part of "grief work." For some this was an act of independence and self-assurance that "I

can handle it."

Many POW/MIA wives took advantage of educational opportunities and benefits in their husband's absence, and went to school. Popular college and post-graduate courses were those in Education, Counseling, and Social Work. One might speculate that study for some may have represented the beginning of an acceptance of the fact that the husband would not return and of a settlement that the wife would have to consider the realities of a career outside the home. Where the pursuit of education or employment was initiated following notification that the husband was missing or a prisoner, there is some indication that the wife found in such an undertaking a constructive way of handling her feelings in difficulty, and this might have served a very therapeutic purpose in her life. New skills and an experience of personal growth bring a new confidence in oneself and into one's life.

The Chaplain should recognize the importance of this independence and demand by both Returnee and wife for the exercise of personal initiative. There was a time when it was a matter of hypothesis that the Returnees, weakened by the prison experience, might be overwhelmed by a wife who had endeavored to develop her personal image in his absence. She was advised to withhold her personal power during his reentry and readjustment. This is a hard thing to ask of anyone, and such a shielding indicates a protection of the Returnee from the very reality he covets. In this conflict, Asian captors seem to have strengthened the very initiative they sought to destroy, and though the physical deprivations in South Viet Nam and Laos were more weakening to the prisoners, we can assume that the wills of those who lived through it all have been enhanced. The wife, powerful in her new capabilities,

has the potential for bringing out the new power in her Returnee husband. We can predict problems in marriage with wives who are afraid to reveal their honest selves which could be more serious than straightforward arguments that may establish something more important than family policy--the presence and personhood of both parties.

One wife of a Returnee reports that she discovered in herself during her husband's absence a new patience in dealings with others which could be described as compassion that would not permit pity. With an understanding of what it is like to ward off pity from others and of the latent weakness that it released in her, she learned much the same lesson that the prisoners reported learning from one another. Strength is a model for strength; but strength that is not required to face a sadistic enemy no longer needs hardness to toughen it. It never needs pity to weaken it. Compassion within these defined limits can be the basis for understanding in the marriage and family development of the reunited family, and from this can evolve many gifts that will be given by members of such families to others who find themselves in peril, anxiety or sorrow.

Some wives have described their husbands as more tolerant and accepting of the opinions of others since return. There is a possibility that where he has not changed greatly in this respect, the difference in the relationship may be due to the changes <u>she</u> has experienced in the period of separation. The question in such cases then is how long will her increased tolerance support such a denial which inhibits her from placing realistic demands upon him? This could well be the object of pastoral counsel before a confrontation occurs that is less likely to be handled constructively.

Returnees and their wives have admitted that problems unresolved before the deployment that resulted in capture remained to be resolved in reunion, and likewise that strength experienced in the marriage before that separation are strengths which undergird the reunion process. In light of the resources that have been found in the lives of each during the long separation and changes that have occured, however, many have found it a very natural thing to recontract their relationship upon return. This has led to divorce for some, to the renewal of marriage vows for others, and long-awaited marriage for still others. Adequate assessment of the factors involved in such decisions and recontracting--especially when such involves divorce--requires both time and skill. Yet this is a time when impatience for resolution of all things that stand in the way of settlement and rapid return to routine would militate against mature evaluations. The Chaplain might find it very useful to appeal to the Returnee's disdain for impulsiveness, and to encourage arrangement of alternate plans until ultimate decision can be based upon thorough assessment and sureness. It is important for the Chaplain, in making his own assessment, to be aware of what in the POW and separation experiences may have relevance; and yet it is also well to keep in mind in renewing the vows of marriage on the one hand or in divorce on the other, that not all factors involved are uniquely related to the POW experience and that not all POW family problems are POW problems. There may come a time when our culture needs to be reminded of this also.

IV. POW RETURNEE--THE MAN HIMSELF

> "Great occasions do not make heros or cowards, they simply unveil them in the eyes of man. Silently and imperceptibly as we wake or sleep we grow strong or weak, and at last some crisis shows us for what we have become."
>
> --attributed to the Rt. Rev. Brooke Foss Westcott (1825-1901)

A person is called "an individual," linguistically denying generalizations as inconsistent with the study of human lives. Questions such as "Why did you join the military?" "What do you like most about military life and why?" "What has the military satisfied in your life?" will shed light upon the history of individual development both before and after induction--as a person: individually, physically, and socially. These three aspects provide a stability in one's view of himself. Be that view drawn from self, others, or the environment, it is important as one's identity.

Though many are "draft motivated" volunteers--the Navy and the Marine Corps are volunteer services. At the risk of generalization, military volunteers have either strong confidence in their abilities to cope, or have set about to test and to reinforce those abilities. In short, there is a significant ego investment in their career. Part of this would involve the physical condition of the individual which is subjected to rigorous developmental exercise and scrupulous examination. The social milieu of the military and more

specifically of the military unit is one which stresses team work, and which offers the security of a chain of command--which organizes decision-making and appeal procedures. When these things are threatened, subjected to radical change, or traumatized--the identity of the person is threatened.

The Marine on reconnaissance patrol is a hunter who by strength and courage challenges both the elements and the enemy. The pilot of a single-place high performance jet aircraft characteristically prides himself upon his personal freedom, the capability to handle that freedom by himself through a constantly imposed testing in flight that reinforces a sense of victory, and then in the celebration of that victory with other fliers as they celebrate theirs. The psycho-dynamics which either require or support such testing of the self and the elements by the military man are rarely explored--for their chosen milieu surrounds them with an activism in both career and social life which precludes such contemplations.

Capture suddenly shatters the myth of indomitability. From the absolute freedom of mobility or flight to the helplessness of capture in a few short minutes is a transmutation to failure for the ego. The capture in many cases involved physical injury--in all cases a confrontation which physical strength could not solve. Perhaps for the first time in his memory, a team-oriented man was completely on his own with recourse only to his previous training for decisions to be made and with no appeal whatsoever. From this shock to his identity he would then face long months even years in solitary confinement--separated from other prisoners and from withheld mail, and even from the assurance that others knew he was alive--contemplate, to reflect,

and to consider the meaning of life itself.

Almost every effort of the men in prison camp--the stories are multitude--can be linked to the search for and the reinforcement of identity--in exploration of the past, present and future for the ego, in physical survival and restoration, and in the recreation of the familiar community in which one's place is defined in terms of others. A Returnee recalled his initial thoughts on capture--that as long as he was in enemy hands, he felt it would take at least one year for him to benefit from the experience by reorganizing his life and in the development of his own character. He was there much longer than he thought he would be!

Extensive reports have come from Returnees how in solitary confinement past experiences in life were reconstructed in the mind and were subject to critical evaluation. Alternative methods were planned, and this inspired the hope for chances to test these new ways in the search for personal growth. This was not only true of interpersonal relations, but of other activities. It is to be emphasized that such self-examination and non-verbal confessions of the past were self-imposed, and not the object of the enemy's manipulation (as in the imprisonment experiences of the Korean conflict), and these reflections strengthened the ego and the use of initiative in the will to resist.

Attempts by the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong at political indoctrination were described by Returnees as "clumsy." The fact that physical punishment usually served to deepen mental convictions was either not grasped by this enemy, or he had given up the conversion of these political hostages in favor of appealing to a world audience.

Advantageous to the majority of prisoners and unique to this conflict was the higher degree of exposure to past education and to the resulting discipline of intellectual criticism. But the discovery of the limitations of his own human physical endurance by the POW was a severe blow to him in his struggle to hold on to his identity; and once this blow had been struck ("they broke me and I signed the paper") the aim was to make use of his sense of guilt for having broken the Code of Conduct and to instill in him a fear of prosecution for treason upon repatriation as would keep him submissive--to future enemy control and separate him from his brother prisoners by disgrace. A senior officer Returnee stated that his low point came with the realization that he "could be broken by the enemy." But "I could come back! That was the high point"--even to be compared with Homecoming itself. Another Returnee stated: "Prisoners who totally refused to cooperate are not with us today."

Facing this meant the acceptance--perhaps for the first time in the lives of such athletic-type American men--that physical strength could tolerate only so much in the service of the will. To recover from this meant that one's identity had to be redefined in terms of the physical dimension.

POWs were vulnerable to political re-education through lengthy isolation in the earlier phases of captivity. Many stated that the enemy held every advantage--not just the physical aspect of isolation, but in the deprivation of all but controlled reading imposed upon people whose existence has always been characterized by the experience of a constant bombardment by a free mass media. In his hunger for information during long months of isolation, one Returnee described

reading news of respected American political leaders (and clergy) expressing opposition to the Viet Nam conflict as "a real mind-bender." In later phases when cell groups became common, later POW arrivals confirmed the heightened level of national doubt over the value of the military involvement which had resulted in their long detention and abuse and which had threatened their lives; and to make matters worse, Americans visited Hanoi to make freely statements outside the prison which POWs were being tortured for refusing to make inside the camps. Lacking other communications with the homeland absent of control, the stress upon the prisoner grasping for his identity is difficult for the observer to assess and impossible for him to imagine.

The very fact of dissent about the war--even among POWs--was a reminder of the freedom which the Americans cherished and failed to find in those who represented the Communism which they taught. The "blank stares of the people," their way of life, the ignorance and thought control spoke a behavioral message so loud and clear that attempts for conversion to the doctrines behind it all lost impact. One Returnee remarked that his satisfaction throughout seven and one-third years of torture and confinement was the fact that "I knew sooner or later I'd be going home, and those poor -------s would stay there."

Even though the "brainwashing" or mass conversion of POWs to Communism failed, many returning former prisoners have expressed a strong interest in finding answers to long-standing questions which few asked before that last deployment--questions which had but a single simple answer given by the enemy. "I have a score to settle!" said one Returnee as he rushed to a bookstore as one of his first errands in his homeland. Interest in the study of political science, the theory of Communism,

modern Asian history, and international relations is being expressed by Returnees. An early Returnee who completed a tour of study commented with a sense of relief that it had been of great benefit to him, but recalling indoctrination sessions when he was in prison, he said: "(With what I have learned) I'd be on their bad list now."

Men want to know why they went to Indo-China, and to know more of the purpose for which they offered their time. This validates the question: "Will these men be content to offer their lives again without a full understanding of the cause?" Returnees would interpret a negative answer to this question not as an argument about this conflict, but rather as incentive for a deeper and more informed patriotism. It represents a responsible challenge to blind obedience in an age of openness, and it finds support in evidence of an increased interest in the political processes of the country, and in the declaration by a number of Returnees of their intentions to run for significant political office.

This expressed desire for both study and involvement is not a casual matter, but one of completing a life Gestalt in the demand for self-acquired answers with which to face both friend and foe. It is important for the Chaplain to encourage this process should it wane in the competition with other stimuli, that the conflict might be brought to a conclusion in the minds of men who have returned to peace, and that their rediscovery of themselves in relation to the world of ideas and a personal experience of power in that world may be brought to good effect.

Survival through long years in prison involved a constant struggle to keep one's initiative force alive--for it was that same

initiative force that kept one eating. Ceilings placed upon initiative by which the enemy frustrated individual and group action were carefully analyzed by POWs; and well-planned expressions of resistance or diplomacy that lifted those ceilings however slightly were cherished as important victories. Such small hard-won victories resulting from the exercise of that initiative balanced one's thoughts of failure and confinement, and led to an ultimate triumph for those who returned. We can only speculate that the lack of such victories or the ability to savor them contributed to the death of others.

In solitary confinement, men studied the insect world, developed various means of communications with others from whom they were isolated--at great personal risk, found freedom in their daydreams or by boring a peephole in the door, made pens of pieces of metal and bamboo scraps carefully scavenged, ink from kool-aid, brick- or ash-dust, compiled books of mathematics, general information, Bible—portions for secret circulation, only to have much of these confiscated. An early Returnee had memorized the names of 300 prisoners in rhyme to establish the whereabouts of many MIAs. He had learned them one-by-one through the wall tap-code, by sunlight reflection signals, and by notes dropped in prearranged places. One man recalled using four hours a day to review his memory of certain dates. Another jogged five miles a day around his seven foot by seven foot cell each morning for 27 months of solitary. In the later phases of the captivity, the various Department Heads and job assignments in the military organization of the prisoners were rotated so that each POW could offer his special knowledge or skills to the group and that each could be of service. A united effort in the demand for prisoner organized Sunday church services

got begrudging concession from the enemy authorities who feared it as a political indoctrination among the POWs.

Initiative is the force of life, and its expression provides the positive stimulus to re-expression, and thereby to sustain life. Stress for most stimulated the will to grow rather than defeating it. This strengthened initiative seeks expression in Returnees who now want to fly, teach, build, buy, drive, make choices and decisions. Returning to the normal career pattern is the object of great impatience and urgency--perhaps the reassurance of one's worth and identity is the present target of this initiative. But when the identity is secure and a sense of worth can be taken for granted, when severe and destructive stress is no longer present to threaten and to be challenged, and yet initiative continues; then it is evident that this life is providing its own perpetuation and will to live, and Homecoming is complete. Should initiative be thwarted, and yet find expression constructive to the man and through him to others, then hoped for results from the terrible ordeal of captivity can be assessed as positive.

However, in prison some learned more quickly than others that frustration handled with acts of defiance proved self-defeating. Such reactions during interrogation risked the loss of an eye, teeth, an eardrum, a broken wrist, or the experience of months in discomfort, restraints and/or isolation. Self-defeating defiance took more subtle forms. One POW made slide rules with materials gathered with considerable difficulty. The object was to have one completed in time for the cell inspection--to be left partly hidden to be discovered and confiscated. It was his way of telling the enemy: "You can't hold us back." But defiance is about all it accomplished--especially amongst so many

who hungered for tools by which they could occupy their minds.

From prison experiences, explorations by the Chaplain-counselor into an individual's methods of handling encounters with frustration can provide clues to his patterns of adaptation learned or reinforced under stress--constructive or self-defeating. Such behavior patterns, which might confirm or deny that personality changes took place in confinement, will appear in family, career, and social situations; and the Chaplain may find that in understanding their history he may more effectively assist their integration in such reunion adjustments. Thus, there may be an advantage in inquiring into situations that frustrated the initiative of the man, and then by asking: "How did you handle that?"

Enemy authority provoked fear and contempt. Mock execution scenes in the provinces upon capture or in Viet Cong territory, the boots of the "turn-key" signaling a warning of more interrogations, gave rise to familiar feelings. Many Returnees look back at the people there with unhuman disinterest--not even a lasting hate. But that fear of losing feeling in one's appendages in "the ropes" or the loss of one of them by mutilation taught the prisoner to bridle his contempt by keeping his mouth shut, accepting imposed decisions silently and with his own deep conviction in his personal dignity as a representative of the United States Armed Forces. Returnees explain that they saw the captor as dangerous and impulsive because he was child-like.

The Chaplain-counselor who may be faced with untangling the dynamics of a quarrel might well ask of the wife, relative or colleague who finds herself or himself in confrontation with a Returnee such questions as: "Do you feel yourself to be the object of contempt?" "Do you feel very childish when he argues with you?" "Does he use

silence to defend his point of view?" Such line of inquiry might provide a breakthrough in the realization that Homecoming is indeed a reality, and that such reactions to authority are no longer appropriate. Anger need no longer be repressed, but instead its energy can be channeled in constructive ways, and there is now the freedom to correct and to change things. But such reactions from the Returnee might serve as an indication or warning to the other party that their behavior is such that it has been perceived as representative of overbearing authority.

In normal transactions, most Returnees are direct people, and most capable of direct replies. This practice proved its importance in coexisting over long periods of time in cell groups with the same people. Should a Returnee not want to deal with a question or with a line of discussion, one can expect that he will say so. If this refusal is not accepted, one can expect him to politely excuse himself from the conversation. Thus, the Chaplain should not hesitate to converse and to question the Returnee freely. He will be frank if he does not want to discuss his experiences in a social setting. If such is the case in counseling, however, and if the asking is appropriate and crucial to progress, this may be a rejection of help on his part.

Yet another skill stands in reserve for him--learned in prison. Should the Chaplain perceive this reaction from the Returnee, it is indicative that the recipient of such a reply has been perceived by the Returnee in the role of the hostile or unwelcome interrogator. It is one of polite rejection by burial in a mountain of meaningless words, tangents, and semantics. It became a well practiced game with the enemy. It is best explained by an actual example:

Prison Interrogator: "What do you think of the bombing of North Viet Nam?"

POW: "I feel that the bombing of North Viet Nam is a real fact. I can see the planes and I can hear the planes occasionally. I hear the bombs drop, and I think that the bombing of North Viet Nam will cause a lot of damage; but the damage is dependent upon the number of bombs that are dropped and the planes that are flying. And sometimes the planes don't come. And there is a lot of bombing. I think that overall on the bombing of North Viet Nam, that North Viet Nam is being bombed."

(The interrogator was satisfied with the reply.)

Another example of such skill is to be found in an incident that reportedly followed an indoctrination broadcast.

Interrogator (sternly): "Do you have any questions?"
POW (immediately): "Yes. When is Tet this year?"
(The interrogator's mood suddenly changed as he reached for his calendar.)

One avenue to freedom in confinement could be found in a rich fantasy life. Men rediscovered in themselves a resource in their daydreams which for many was a long forgotten one. Fantasies gave them a dimension of freedom--and in that freedom they found new talents and rediscovered friendships in past relationships. One Returnee found daydreaming to be "so beautiful that (he) had to ration it" as he structured his time in solitary. Another reportedly used care to stop such thoughts when they became too far removed from reality. For another, daydreams served as a means of reinforcement to his sense of dignity. When under interrogation and torture, he used to entertain the thought that he might one day become a millionaire. Under stress he would think to himself: "Hey, you can't do that to a millionaire!"

Upon returning home, frustrations of adjustment might open to the Returnee now familiar roads of fantasy. If the Chaplain can

encourage him to share such fantasies, it might provide an opportunity for progress. This does not suggest work in dream analysis, but the sharing of this material in the manner of free association in a trusted relationship may unearth some material that may be anchored in fact. Encouragement is needed to enter a trial and test of fantasy plans in the reality of the life setting to which he has returned. When a man has lived close to the possibility of death and returns from it, he finds himself a member of the "Now Generation" filled with an urgency about life that makes the present tense more important than it has ever been before to him. He has lived with the possibility that the future may never come for him, thus now is the time to try things that he has always perhaps secretly wanted to do. Still in all, experimentation requires risks. Personal risks are not unfamiliar to the combat serviceman, but to risk one's pride when there is a chance of failure in front of one's friends or in one's own eyes at a time when one's identity upon return is confronting more questions may require a different kind of courage. The effect may be one of procrastination or "being too tired" to try it. In the sharing of the fantasies and the hopes of Returnees, the Chaplain shifts from being beside men in the fury of combat to a position of helping them assimilate the risks of peace.

Limitations of age or physical condition may have walled off a man from the familiar freedoms of physical mobility or flight, rendering the pursuit of a military career or one without limitation now to be impossible for him. Such a man may do battle within himself with the thought that for the first time in his life he may be the object of pity; and of special accommodations that result from pity, and this may provoke

premature action in the defense of his own self-confidence that may result in impulsive decisions regarding his life planning. To find reality and to "check it out" will require a great depth of courage, and a sense of self-worth. In this, the Chaplain can be a resource not to be underestimated.

In such cases--as well as with any Returnee--the Chaplain might explore new plans and talents which these men "discovered" in confinement. One Returnee's fantasies led to an "invention of a toy." It will take determination to attempt to market this "toy-now-in-fantasy", and yet this may be an important thing for him to attempt. Another Returnee found he could learn a foreign language, but it took courage on return for him to go to a French restaurant and try his skill on the waiter. Another man exclaimed: "I have the patience to teach!" All these are new and exciting discoveries for each about himself.

When plans and hopes are stymied for the Returnee, let the Chaplain ask: "What are some of the fantasies that you can remember?" or, "If you were to have a daydream about that situation, what would it tell you?" Fact and fiction can then be sorted out, and maybe some realistic plans can evolve and be tried. Newly discovered gifts may be employed and developed in the channels of the old career, in its enrichment, in a new career, as an avocation, or in the areas of home and family.

Financial matters represent an area of important planning. This is an area of concern to most people; but in this era, the Chaplain sees people with problems related to insufficiency rather than overplus--and for many Returnees, having an overplus (from accrued back-pay and a variety of benefits and gifts) will be a very new experience.

Since the Chaplain is not a qualified financial advisor (except in very unusual circumstances), he should assess his own limitations to deal in this area should the opportunity present itself. Yet he should also be alert to the symptomatology that mismanagement of finances may represent. Reckless spending (like reckless driving) may represent a loss of impulse control. But instead of attempting a diagnostic analysis beyond the capabilities of the Chaplain, it would be more appropriate to determine if this "recklessness" represents a departure from the usual way the man conducts himself. A recommendable procedure would be for the Chaplain then to arouse an awareness in the Returnee of this phenomenon in his behavior, and to encourage him to examine its meaning.

The sincerity of the simple and genuine gift may be seen as a norm for Returnees. For example, one former POW gave a person his prison rice spoon as a gesture of deep appreciation, another framed a poem which he had written in prison as a wedding gift for his bride. The practice of giving lavish gifts with little meaning to persons of insignificant connection may be viewed as atypical for Returnees, and this might represent a desperate clinging or reaching out for a closer relationship or more definite goals. The Chaplain should be willing to explore this with the Returnee. If the Returnee should offer a large sum for the benefit of the chapel, for example, the Chaplain should not be afraid to examine with him the meaning of this gift. This is particularly relevant if the Chaplain has some knowledge that leads him to suspect that the man's own needs have not as yet been met.

The experience of return should involve the discovery of new goals relevant to return as well as the testing of plans originating in

dreams and thoughts from confinement days. Had such planning not occured in the prisoner's experience to a great degree, the sudden withdrawal of such a major objective in life as one's freedom would be an emotional shock of even greater consequence. The sudden fulfillment of old hopes, triumphant though this may be, leaves a vacuum if new goals are not immediately present to replace the old in equal magnitude--and it is unlikely that they can be. Where there is an absence of objectives, despair--even suicide or gestures in this direction--might result. The answer to an impatient even reckless demand for new objectives can come through the exercise of the strength of faith that sustained men in their will for freedom. When such faith can allow for the gradual evolvement of new life objectives, the "maturity of character" so valued by Returnees will result in impulse control and appropriate decision-making for good effect in the present and in the future. But early evidence of effectiveness of one's efforts in affirmation of one's self-worth is an important direction to be pursued, and should be given priority in the guidance relationship. The marriage of faith and works is both pragmatically and doctrinally important.

Returnee: "I gotta big kick out of watching the guards humiliate themselves . . . . A guard slammed his foot in the door while closing it one day . . . he wouldn't come back for several days. He was humiliated . . . because we were rolling on the floor laughing at him."

Prison guard: "Does the moon shine in the United States?"
POW: "Does it shine in the United States? It belongs to the United States!"

The most obvious use of humor in captivity was to belittle the enemy--a means of aggression that could elude retaliation. Freud explained the psychodynamics of comic pleasure by explaining that the

one perceived as the comic or clown "does it just as I did when I was a child." Thus as one compares oneself to the one who is the source of his amusement, one feels greater in stature or perfection by comparison with the one who is imperfect or child-like. By means of this use of humor or through mockery, one performs a subtle act of aggression upon the identity or valued individuality of the one who has in the process "lost face."

But the enemy was not the only "fall guy" in the POW experience. There was a great deal of kidding among the American prisoners--the recognized purpose of which was "to develop a degree of toughness" in each other. The above dynamics of humor again apply, but this time it was designed for a response within the one belittled--that he would be less vulnerable to getting his feelings hurt or to an emotionally motivated thoughtless reaction to a guard or interrogator. Intellectual control over one's feelings was required, and this was equated to "character" in the mind of the POW.

A mistake would be the target of a joke, an act of self-interest would be the object of a prank. It was a cunning yet accepted method of discipline, yet those who employed it as a part of life seemed not to recognize its power. Said one Returnee as this was being discussed: "Nobody was trying to degrade anyone up there. It assisted in the development of a shell . . . . but it was all in good fun."

Indeed, it was more a serious matter than "good fun." Humor was used as a means of shaping behavior in the interest of survival. Humor was not used as a platitude or placebo: and though present in entertainment, it had other and more important functions. The Chaplain would do well not to discount humor, nor to use it carelessly with Returnees in

presentations, conversations or counseling without being aware that a subtle and even critical message--even one which disqualifies the Chaplain as a "mature" person--may be interpreted with more force than was intended by the Chaplain or than was consciously expected by the Returnee. It would also be well to be aware of the implications of such a statement as: "I was the brunt of a lot of jokes up there."

It was an overwhelming experience for individual prisoners to confront enemy authority alone. The desperate effort to establish communications and contact with others was a demand for human community within which each member can establish his identity in regard to his relationship to others. Finding others is also a means to finding oneself. Thus the effort for survival involved breaking the social isolation even though physical isolation could not be manipulated. Later it involved the actual organization of the type of community in which each participant had found himself previous to capture--the military community. Even though the Fourth Composite Allied Wing provided a succession and chain of command and made visible the acknowledged rank structure by which military men traditionally define their place in the military community, there came into being among the POWs a "respect structure" within this by which a POW might define his identity and be recognized within the group as either a "short timer" or a "long hauler" (old-timer). In dealing with the Returnees, this "respect structure" should be recognized and honored. It is based upon the history of the captivity, and upon a fact relevant for those held in the North--the closer it got to the end, the easier it became.

It is not accurate to codify what is a strictly informal concept, nor is it right by any means to define the total captivity

experience in terms of those held in North Viet Nam ignoring the prisoners of the Viet Cong. Yet for what value it may have, four periods are suggested which influenced the experiences of POWs in North Viet Nam, and which might serve as a rough index of the "respect structure" among the Returnees which have a relation to it. The labels are only for the sake of the convenience of the reader.

Period A (from 26 March 1964 in South Viet Nam or from 5 August 1964 in North Viet Nam to 6 July 1966--first captures to the Hanoi March)

During this time, holding Americans was a new experience for the enemy. He was given to impulsive vindictiveness and a new experience of power over helpless individuals, use of torture absent of inhibiting controls and prolonged and uninterrupted isolation--perhaps revealing the influence of North Asian advice.

Period B (from 6 July 1966 to 3 September 1969--Hanoi March to the death of Ho Chi Minh)

The parading of POWs through the streets of Hanoi (Hanoi March) was designed to stir reaction from the populace of North Viet Nam in support of the war effort, but the situation got out of hand--and this was witnessed and filmed by representatives of the international press. World sentiment for the first time influenced North Viet Nam to at least hide its inhumane treatment of prisoners. Isolation continued. Torture became less indiscriminate and more related to interrogations and discipline for infraction of camp rules. Efforts were directed to gain the sympathies of world nations and to win the favor and pity of the American people--to influence opposition to military policies of the government, which had been so effective in the defeat of the French. To this end, efforts commenced to persuade POWs by doubt or by the international press to reverse the image abroad and to muster the support of the Communist block nations, as well as to justify the war effort to their own people and to give a picture of success.

Period C (from 3 September 1969 to 21 November 1970--death of Ho Chi Minh to the raid by the "Green Berets" on Son Tay prison compound)

The death of Ho Chi Minh brought a marked reduction in stress and physical torture beyond that related to initial interrogation for dated military information. This seemed to reflect a policy change as well as resulting from the expanding POW population, protest mail, and early Returnees' stories.

Period D (from 21 November 1970 to 11 February--1 April 1973--Son Tay raid to the final releases of POWs by North Viet Nam, Viet Cong, and China)
Even though the prisoners had been moved out of Son Tay before the "commando-type" raid by U,S. Forces, the event confirmed the necessity of concentrating all prisoners in North Viet Nam in Hanoi. Crowding of facilities made the large cell groups (20-48 prisoners) common, solitary confinement became more of a special form of discipline, and the manipulation of individual cases was made less possible because of enemy staffing limitations. Thus, group activities and organization met with increasingly limited opposition in comparison with previous periods, and "sweet milk" and fruit provided toward the end were seen as efforts to prepare the men to face the news cameras on release.

These time periods are presented only as broad generalities, but the developments they describe have been expressed as significant by many who learned to "keep their calendars in their heads," and who thereby gained an acute memory for dates and for detail. They may also provide some hints for the Chaplain as to probable strengths or potential problem areas.

For example, an early Returnee may find difficulty in re-establishing his self-esteem in relation to this POW brotherhood--all-important to him--because his early termination would have interrupted the sequence of events normal for the others, and upon which the informal "respect structure" is built--as well as because of anxiety over the adverse feelings among some of the POWs about the pacifists who negotiated early releases and most who accepted them. Or perhaps an early Returnee may have been released during a period when solitary confinement was the normal mode of prisoner handling, and he may have been deprived of the chance for discovering his identity in the community as was possible for those released in 1973. This piece of unfinished business would be extremely important for him to pursue as a contribution to completing his adjustment to return, for otherwise he

would have no way to compare his performance as a POW with those who likewise have an investment of life there--and he would remain forever in the solitary confinement of his own residual anxieties which can become a preoccupation in fantasy and in reality.

Each man who returns from combat asks himself questions about his own performance, and surely prisoners of war are no different. The accolades of others, however, remain hollow if one doubts himself. Reassurance from one's counterparts can be of great help; but where failure is real and guilt is experienced, the Chaplain--Protestant, Catholic, Jewish -- may be the one to exercise his office of confessor and absolver in the form and manner of his theological orientation. For this to be complete, it must also involve reconciliation to community.

Having dealt with areas of special concern to the POW Returnee, it is important once again to add the reminder that he is not a different kind of a person, but only a person who has had a different kind of experience. Not everything that a Returnee says or does has a relationship to his imprisonment. The Returnee, perhaps at times, needs to be reminded of this, as indeed does the general public (and the Chaplain). Returnees have expressed an earnest desire to forget the past. But repressing the past should not be confused with forgetting it. The former POW may think those closest to him have tired of hearing about his experiences, or for lack of an invitation he may interpret disinterest. Reassurance of concern is important. Personal "debriefing" can be valuable to the man (as was stated in the section on the Returnee and his Family) when it involves what <u>he</u> needs to talk about. One man on return stated that he was always asked about being tortured and that he would at least like to be asked about it in a different way,

so that the telling of the same old stories would be less boring for him. Another let it be known that he absolutely did not want to be interviewed by anyone, yet he is constantly in the media and on television telling his story. Obviously, he really needs to do so. If the prison experience keeps recurring in the Returnee's conversation, or if the Chaplain feels that the Returnee needs to talk about it, he should invite him to do so in an appropriate setting. If the Chaplain should suspect that a present struggle may have some roots in a partially submerged but not forgotten past experience and if trust has been established between the Returnee and the Chaplain, let the latter express his suspicion and allow freedom to adequately deal with the struggle.

It may be that history will show that unique to the return of POWs from this conflict will have been the openness about which imprisonment experiences have been told and received with interest. Returnees have been received not as failures, but as the valued heros that they truly are, and at last their story can be told proudly. This may prove to be one of the greatest factors that will expedite the adjustments of these men more rapidly and with greater success than has been possible in past wars. The sustained interest and the willingness to listen manifested by the concerned and informed Chaplain can contribute uniquely to the lives of these men as they reestablish themselves and their individual identity--personally, physically and socially--once again in their homeland.

V. THE POW AND HIS RELIGION

Viktor Frankl said it: "The salvation of man is through love and in love."

> Chaplain: "What kept you going?"
> Returnee: "My wife, knowing that she'd be strong and that she'd be there when I got back. Also faith . . . . Some of us may not have been particularly religious or faithful before we got there and we may not be particularly religious or exhibit the faith that we found or that may (have been) strengthened while we were there. But I know that it had a great influence on all of us . . . . It did on me, too. My family, and then faith in God, and my country."

Family, God and Country--this trinity is acknowledged in almost credal form by most Returnees, with variation only in the order of priority. One former prisoner said that when physical and mental resources were exhausted, all that was left was faith alone.

Many Returnees claim, whether having a religious background or not, that with the deprivations of imprisonment they perceived God in a new way. God was seen more clearly, as though one were starting life over again with the fresh awareness of childhood that brought new perspectives to sophisticated adult men. A Returnee stated: "I had (previously) overlooked God because of the physical surroundings that were man-made. (In prison) I came to say: "God made the beautiful day, the stars, the flowers. I would say 'God made it.' That's a prayer!" In the light of such awareness, a new acceptance of God--beyond the bounds of the Judeo-Christian definition--is commonly

acknowledged by Returnees. "These men are not educated in religion according to 'the Book,' (and) they didn't have it. But they know what they believe. I pray I will not lose it," declared one man.

Many acknowledge prayer as a new and powerful resource. One Returnee reported that he prayed first for relief from pain and fear but later for the character to withstand it. "The maturing process" took about a year and a half, as he put it. This shift was concurrent with that of learning to handle the anger from the frustration in indirect and intellectual ways.

Prayer and its use was rethought and personalized. "I used rote prayers, yet I remembered much of the prayer book (with which I had grown up). I shifted my own pattern of praying from evening, as I was taught, to morning. We say 'give us this day . . .' so I prayed in the morning. And daily I prayed:

> 'Before starting my journey today,
> I pray for help along the way,
> For wisdom to see the right path in life,
> And strength to walk it fearless of strife.
> More worthy this day will I try to be
> To receive the gifts thou'lt give unto me. Amen.'"

"Church Call" was tapped through the walls on Sundays, men repeated the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag, the "Our Father," the "Twenty-third Psalm," and half an hour of meditation were generally included in the structure.

When an English Bible was given to one man, he read it through three times before smuggling it around to others. Devotional materials were preserved on hoarded toilet paper with crude handmade pen and ink (like other educational materials were produced). Another man reported

celebrating the Holy Communion on Christmas 1971 and 1972, and Easter 1971 for his cellmates from a text so preserved, using bread and water for the elements. When the cell groups became larger in Hanoi, after the Son Tay raid, negotiations with prison authorities were made for permission to hold Sunday Divine Services. The format of these events varied from cell to cell. A Returnee stated: "What a great inspiration it was! Forty-eight guys huddled in a cell. One guy up in front in prison garb who perhaps had little contact with the church before, saying: 'I pity the Vietnamese, and wish them a better life.'" Another said: "I never before realized that the spoken word had such great power."

Men with little previous religious commitment were ardent participants, and some risked weeks in solitary confinement to defend this right. Even with perhaps an element of defiance in this, for most POWs it was a genuine expression of faith. Sermons described as having "great depth and beauty" were delivered by men in turn, and services were often accompanied by well-rehearsed choirs. Stories of worship, both private and corporate, could fill volumes--some are related here that the Chaplain may know of and value the efforts of these men to respond to God when they were deprived of ordained leadership. These events of sincere survival faith are paralleled in history by the synagogue in Babylonian exile and by the Christian Church in the catacombs. Our nation and Navy needs such inspiration--and such can be a reality not merely by the retelling of the tale, but by providing opportunities and encouragement for these men to continue their inspired leadership in the on-going communities of our chapels and churches. The power and spiritual leadership of such men is needed by all of us!

To single them out for chapel leadership as ex-POWs would probably be met with refusal. But to have many opportunities open for lay participation in chapel programs and worship into which they could be incorporated with others, would be to provide channels by which past treasures could be valued and put to advantage in the present, and future. Continued expression would not only keep such talents alive and growing, but such exposure to opportunities might further education in that growth. The present open attitude of formerly clergy-centered religious groups makes the way official for such lay leadership in new and exciting ways. Without encouragement and planning, assimilation of Returnees who have undertaken such religious leadership in the past will be less likely.

Public worship offered by the North Vietnamese at Christmas was not met with popular acceptance by prisoners. The element of resistance was against the support of these services because of the propaganda value for the enemy of being able to photograph the assembled group at worship. The common motivation expressed for attending was that of gathering in a group with POWs from other cells for purposes of sub rosa communications. The Roman Catholic Mass was more religiously structured than the Protestant services by North Vietnamese clergy, according to Returnees.

Christmas sermons at such services and on the public address systems told POWs that "even as the capitalist imperialist warmonger legions of Rome 2000 years ago persecuted the people of the baby Jesus" so God would help the weak against the strong. This provided little solace for the prisoners. Remarks in broken English about the "weak little baby Jesus" only reinforced thoughts about the child-like enemy

and his use of his "church" as a puppet for propaganda and as a tool of thought control. This may have provoked some to recall the "Sunday School image" of religion, which is the object of rebellion for many American adult males who feel they have outgrown the "institutional church" by means of their education and maturity. The sincere and informal services and the primitive revival of the experience of God in the simplicity of nature and self-offering can still be seen as separate from the church back home, in the same way that the POW brotherhood can serve to encapsulate its members on return. On the other hand, the POW services can find an on-going expression in the chapel or parish church in the same way that the POW brotherhood can be a strong base from which bridges to other communities can be built. The Returnee is the prime mover of his own reaching out, but the Chaplain can also be crucial in helping to make such connections real.

Yet from the prison memory there is a link, however minute and associated with the enemy, between the institutional church and child-like authority--to be met with silence and unexpressed opinions. If the Chaplain finds himself in a position to interpret to the Returnee in a pastoral context the policies, tradition, or the canon law of his church which represent its authority, the knowledge of the potential for recreating such an image could be useful in shaping his manner of approach with good reasoning. This statement does not mean, however, that the Returnee and his family are to be considered "a special case" in matters that concern this authority. Such shielding would be contrary to effecting their reunion with reality--which is in the interest of the long-term "Homecoming"; and having been the subject of much "special treatment," most Returnees would do well to

reject it if they knew of it.

Many wives kept their waiting families together in a scrupulous loyalty to the church. They prayed for the return of their missing or prisoner father, and many children learned thereby that this was an important part of life. It was anticipated that one day the head of the household would complete the family circle in the chapel or parish church. Should the Returnee find that he is not ready or interested in attending Divine Services or related activities, there will be a broken hope to deal with--a silent but clear message to the children that this may not be as important "as mother said it was," or father may be seen as pretty ungrateful for the divine help for which they prayed. The additional important issue here is that the children have been forced to take sides. The Chaplain should be attentive to such possibilities when an abrupt change in family attendance at chapel occurs on the man's return, and this may be a clue to other adjustments beneath the obvious issue with which pastoral help may prove beneficial.

In order to confront the expectation that a set type of "advice" would be forthcoming from "a man of the cloth" when problems are encountered, it is important that the Chaplain be known by more than a stereotype to this family. His concern for each person, his convictions that people can be of different minds and still love each other, and his skill in opening up a family system to the examination of basic issues would be the keys to success. These counseling issues have been dealt with previously. They are placed here in the context of emphasizing that the Chaplain needs to be known to his people in order to be helpful when they need him.

Discussions were popular in the prison cell groups. Gatherings of POWs dealt with such subjects as: "Theory of religion, What you believe, What is Christ all about," according to one Returnee; and these discussions were vital and stimulating. Yet in response to inquiries as to how Returnees planned to continue to learn more about their religion, few had definite plans, and these commonly included the solitary reading of books. Discussion groups and lay seminars in religion would provide a continuation of an activity with which Returnees were familiar and which once claimed great popularity with them.

The ideological controversy of the morality of the conflict had religious as well as political roots, which these men still struggle to resolve. Aviators saw an enemy and the Asian culture of Indo-China face to face for the first time, unlike many of their infantry and advisor counterparts. That, plus the indoctrination sessions and the propaganda material, stimulated thought processes that were reinforced by the realism of being there. Isolation from other opinions for long periods of time had the effect of weakening one's defenses, and men wondered about things about which they were formerly unquestionably sure. Moral issues were complicated by a bitter anger, some directed against the enemy and some directed either against the conflict or the limited and prolonged means of its execution. One Returnee said: "The war ended too late. If it had been pursued we (POWs) would not have been there. We should have done it and ended it." Military conflict up close is never a pretty sight. Some Returnees stated that killing is never justified. Some indicated that exposure to people who were nurtured in Communism led them to believe

that this conflict was justified on moral and religious grounds. Said one Returnee sadly: "(Communism) has to stop somewhere. I don't want that for my children."

It is not the purpose of this Manual to suggest a solution to this issue. "Conscientious people will interpret the will of God in both directions. They will be talking about Viet Nam for years," declared a Chaplain who has long worked with POW/MIA families. Some Returnees claim that the resolution of the moral and religious issue may not be entirely possible for a consensus, but the pursuit of a deeper understanding of this is an urgent matter for the individual Returnee. When one has sacrificed a large part of his life for a cause, he would like to feel that cause was justified. But in spite of this tendency toward the defense of one's past efforts--which might be called "the sacrifice trap"--a man needs more than his past by means of which either to justify his future efforts or to alter his course.

The outspoken anti-war convictions of many official and unofficial elements in the American religious bodies may deter many Returnees from feeling that they will find an open-minded search for God's truth and allowance for their own freedom in so well deserved a search for them, should they consider affiliation. The Chaplain can be a great source of help in this if he does not lose sight of the fact that he is in the Navy as a representative of his religious body, and if he is willing and available to examine the wide range of the religious and moral issues in this conflict or of war itself with a willingness to offer his own views among many and without defensiveness in their support.

Returnees report that after their prison experiences--including those of corporate worship--the church is seen more now in terms of its

people and less in terms of its formalities. The Homecoming welcome has been generally accepted as an expression of God's love through that great outpouring of human concern.

Some who had a background of familiarity with the Church have expressed surprise over the modern revisions in liturgical practices. Some who had been sustained in prison by familiar prayers that they had memorized in the past were rather stunned and disappointed to find that in some cases they had fallen into disuse, or had been radically changed or modernized. It is well to remember that these changes were only slowly accepted by the people of the more liturgically oriented churches during the man's years of absence, and that something that has become so valuable to many of these men is to be treated with great respect. If sudden change is encountered, defensiveness or rejection is probable if the transition is not handled with sufficient care that new forms can be found acceptable as vehicles of devotion in corporate worship.

More is involved here than the use of modern language. In concert with the age, the open expression of feelings, more spontaneous participation by the congregation, music in the modern idiom and instrumentation, and a renewed sense of joy in worship are recent developments for many traditional religious groups. This new atmosphere has been the subject of positive comment by many Returnees, yet some have expressed difficulty in accepting a "do your own thing" attitude in worship--with the concession that freer volition in worship might result in greater sincerity and relevance to the faithful. The dichotomy expressed here is between an intellectual concept of regimentation and a freedom in practice which made possible the spontaneous worship and sincere preaching of prison camp worship. Thus, one can expect a minimum of difficulty

in assimilation on the part of those who seek to practice their faith upon return, and a maximum of difficulty in assimilation on the part of those who just want to talk about it.

The Chaplain should be well informed in this area, and yet content to expedite a referral to a chaplain or civilian clergyman of the man's own faith who can more adequately deal with the liturgical and theological particulars and their development in his religious body during the absence of the Returnee.

Many expressed alarm over the changing expression of morality in our Nation, Some see this as related to a great permissiveness in the Church. A Returnee stated: "I see the Church as a necessary social regulator. But are they dealing with guidance in terms which people can understand? In regard to dope, sex, movies, morals, kids need realistic guidance that they can apply to their daily lives . . . . Young people say that they want to experience life, but they escape life through drugs. That is hypocrisy--which they condemn in others." This Returnee gave presentations to a number of youth organizations as he toured the country. Many Returnees feel such an intense desire for involvement. On the one hand, their reentry into this culture after both long absence and thoughtful reflection will give them an invaluable objectivity; but there also needs to be a depth of understanding of the influences that have effected this culture in their absence, so that their objectivity--so valuable for us--may be brought to bear upon the things of greatest significance instead of just upon their symptoms. Let the Chaplain encourage the Returnee to base his desire for involvement and for the prophetic upon a depth of understanding of the culture to which he returns--yet not to the point of academic indulgence that

his objectivity might be dulled or lost.

The saga of the prisoner of war and the return and reunion is none other than a study in freedom--or in modern terminology, liberation. In it can be seen involvement in an effort to free others from domination and to support them that they might have the freedom to determine their own destiny--be that a choice for freedom or for tyranny, history will soon reveal. Integral to the decision by a religiously motivated nation or person to go to war are decisions which may involve the violation of some particular teaching in order to fulfill an objective. With a consciousness that the means to ends are ends along the way, the balances involved in such an ultimate decision are simple only for the ignorant. It must be added, however, that religious freedom is freedom from rigid rules to do what love requires, taking the awesome responsibility for that decision, and asking God to cover the dilemma with his forgiveness. Immobility is a negative decision, and thus it is not a third option for either men or nation in times of crisis.

Jesus is quoted in Luke 3:14 as having advised soldiers against revolution in the ranks, but rather that they should be content with their wages and deal justly with others--but the wages of a soldier may include the loss of his life, and such is not to be taken lightly in the decisions of nations, nor is it likely to be by the rational military man. His life also involves the lives of those who depend upon him--emotionally as well as financially. One aviator Returnee stated: "(when I had a split second to decide) I knew what they did to people like me down there, but I (bailed out) because I remembered the last words of my wife to me . . . 'Don't get killed over there and leave me with these three small children!'" What was originally a joke became the basis for

a grim personal decision.

The cost of freedom is always duty and responsibility, and religious faith frees men only with concomitant obedience. The object of that obedience is the subject of the free choice. The dimension of commitment is unmistakably a religious matter.

This story of modern Exodus and Conquest began therefore "at the burning bush" of national and individual decision-making which took each one of these men into the wilderness of jungle prison camp or Hanoi enclosure.

Within this setting, the "Will to Freedom" kept alive those who survived to see the "promised land" of their repatriation and reunion with those who shared that "wilderness" and all of its terrible uncertainties. The knowledge that one had value to the enemy as a live political hostage and the knowledge of imprisonments related to past wars with their large-scale releases provided small sources of hope for the sight of "light at the end of the tunnel." The effectiveness of the enlightenment campaign by wives and friends in relaxing mail restrictions and improving prisoner handling policies of the enemy somewhat through the pressure of world opinion and as a reality answer to anti-war idealists in America gave similar hope to waiting families.

POWs found experiences of freedom through daydream, through reflection on the past and planning for the future, through the almost unconquerable use of personal initiative exercised in the interest of personal mental and physical growth and resistance against the limitations imposed by captivity. This "Will to Freedom" unleashed energy to give meaning to the things of life and to keep them turning, and they turned upon the axis of community. The immediate priority of the

struggle for communications with other prisoners from within isolation rivaled the hope of individual emancipation. This "Will to Freedom"--so powerfully revealed when threatened--is so common to human experience that in it may be seen the Hand of the Creator empowering man to demand freedom as the essence of God's gift of Life.

The loss of that demand, that "Will to Freedom," was manifested in the loss of the will to eat in some cases, the will to resist in some cases. From reports in the media of recent difficulties men have experienced on return and in reunion adjustments--with rare alternatives of suicide and psychotic states--one might wonder if there is not a relationship between such behavior and the loss of the "Will to Freedom." The loss of the "Will to Freedom" is related to the loss of the sense of community and the loss of one's God-given sense of self-worth.

The loss of the "Will to Freedom" brought the acceptance of anticipatory grief to waiting POW wives. On the other hand, the presence of the "Will to Freedom" supports the vigil of those whose beloved is yet Missing in Action--even at the expense of their own individual release from the relationship, because the "Will to Freedom" is altruistic in its communal dimension in that freedom for the individual comes with the freedom of those who share the relationship of which one is a part. Certitude of death may prove to bring that freedom if death is religiously interpreted as freedom by the bereaved. Presumption of death, however, may be declared by the government; but until and unless such a presumption is that of the individual--either before or after official declaration--a complete emancipation will not exist.

The communal dimension of the "Will to Freedom" stimulates the continued concern of Returnees for the study of ideological forces that

enslave men, and compels some to enter the realm of politics and government to insure freedom's domain for others. The "Will to Freedom" bridged the gap of time and space with the hope of reunion with loved ones; and, in spite of years without letters, it sustained faith in their strength to carry on in one's absence. It bridged the gap of eternity to find union with the God of Freedom, and motivated such statements as: "I knew I would be living in a future life--if not in my own country, then in His." God so perceived transcends the bonds of man-made separations in community created by prison walls or by the artificial definitions of man. Thus, one can see in the attitude of Returnees an enjoyment of familiar religious experience, but a general lack of concern by many for denominational separatism.

These men and their family members refuse to deify suffering--it is not comfortable for them to have to recall and tell of it. What they did place ultimate value upon was Freedom--Freedom that takes responsibility for the freedom of others. Thus it can be said that they found their hope and strength in the Author of the "Will to Freedom for all mankind." For the most part, these men saw themselves to be "worthy of their freedom" rather than "worthy of their sufferings"--giving relevance to a theology of relationship rather than one of hardship and pain. It was not a deliverance by merit of suffering, but it was a liberation from suffering. God worked through a world community to bring about relief and repatriation, God worked through the brotherhood of POWs to sustain them in stress, and in a sense of self-worth; and God worked through their families to give to POWs hope and assurance of personal worth as well.

To be worthy of freedom is to have a self-dignity which insult

challenges to resistance but not to self-destruction. It is a dignity which seeks individual responsibility and not an "Escape from Freedom" in the authority system or the group. The most noticeable characteristic of Returnees in general is their dignity.

The thirty seconds of time required to bomb a target, mine a harbor or to be overrun by the enemy on the ground resulted in long years of sacrifice and struggle with the hardships, the uncertainties and the void of being a Prisoner of War. The contrast of man with machine was made evident to the man who had lost mastery of a machine in combat. Out of this experience, new concepts of leadership emerged from the prison camps which demand a respect for human dignity, and which expect thoughtful responsibility and leadership from every rate and rank on the military team--in contrast to machine-like adherence to duty. Freedom is not just a lack of restraint, it is not just liberty; for it requires one to think, to chose, and to act responsibly and with concern for the human community. Such application of freedom preserves it. Without the drive for such freedom--which can be understood as God-given--the meaning of life may be there only to be lost for the lack of the sense of self-worth required for a person to perceive it. An informed and educated military that applies these insights in its leadership is not an undisciplined military. While POWs were learning this at the hands of enemy interrogators and by their reflections in solitary, the Navy was shaping such concepts on the anvils of human encounter in a new age at home.

The human values POWs struggled to build and to enhance in their lives in captivity were subjects of their hopes for freedom. Although not all were derived from so called "religious" sources, God

was very much alive in the entire process. Private confessions and resolutions made in isolation were tested with others in cell groups and with the enemy constantly. They hoped to discover these values anew in their families and in their Nation that shared the "Will to Freedom" for their return. This hope kept men alive. It was described at plane-side as he returned to America by one man in words which he undoubtedly treasured during the long years of his imprisonment. Said he:

> "Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."

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